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# *The ART* *Quarterly*

SPRING 1945

PUBLISHED BY THE DETROIT INSTITUTE OF ARTS

*THE ART QUARTERLY* is published each Winter, Spring, Summer, and Autumn, by the Detroit Institute of Arts of the City of Detroit 2, Michigan. Price: \$1 per copy, \$4 per year. Entered as second-class matter February 24, 1938, at the post office at Detroit, Michigan, under the Act of March 3, 1879.

New York advertising office

724 Fifth Avenue • Telephone, Circle 6-3290

# *The ART Quarterly*

PUBLISHED BY THE DETROIT INSTITUTE OF ARTS

*Edited by* W. R. VALENTINER *and* E. P. RICHARDSON

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VOLUME VIII

NUMBER 2

SPRING 1945

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NOV 10 1945



VOL. VIII, NO. 2

THE ART QUARTERLY

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*Fig. 1. JOSE CLEMENTE OROZCO, Apocalypse  
Guadalajara, Orphanage*

## JOSE CLEMENTE OROZCO AND DIRECT ART, II

By J. A. THWAITES

### IV. THE CÁRDENAS LIBRARY, JIQUÍLPAN DE JUÁREZ

Across a gap of five years, years of some of Orozco's best work, the academism of his University Dome in Guadalajara (see *Art Quarterly*, VII (1944), p. 86) links with a similar lapse in the main panel at Jiquilpan. Again we are faced with a single panel, the only wall in color taking the place of the reredos in a converted chapel. The central figure of this panel is a woman mounted on a tiger, riding him across a bed of cactus pads. Other figures tower above her: an eagle and a serpent mauling; a second tiger arching everything in an enormous leap. Farther right three women stand with rifles and caps of liberty, figures satirically drawn. We are away from *direct* painting and back again among incarnated general qualities. Justine Fernández writes: "Orozco has projected here his concept of 'the Mexican': the painful slow advance, the violence, the drama and dignity, evil and greatness, this human comedy—pretension without substance, religiosity without religion—and, undefiled, the true national conscience."<sup>1</sup>

Mexico—in the position of the young lady of Niger—fails to sustain the position given her in the composition. Literary dignity of profile, candied browns of costume, reflect the same symbolism and loss of plastic sense as in the Dome. The tiger's snarling head is an expressionist formula and nothing more. His "drama" is no more a plastic element than is his advance—"painful" enough—across the cactuses. Color is not so leaden as at the University—but it is still attempted color-harmony in place of the chromatic drawing which Orozco understands. The result is either dull or sweet. Even the composition is conventional. In Orozco's *direct* painting the forms come out of his comment on society. They make plastic the esthetic concept which he has of it—passionate or satirical. Here, on the contrary, there are picture-symbols. Their allegorical significance has no connection with their forms. In consequence, the first is arbitrary and the second feeble.

Sometimes, it seems, Orozco will contrast his best and worst. Now beside *Mexico* he puts the black-and-white *Struggle* (Fig. 2), a Swiftian drawing, one of the finest things in his work. Here he has fused again the *direct* with the monumental. The leftward horse has the form feeling of Léger's *City*, yet creates in the seer the physical presence of a horse mounting over. This double



quality carries along the crest of heads and manes and shoulders as they curve. Necks are columns against the sky, legs make architectonic angles, the whole mass draws into one sculptured form. Yet all is shaped by the satire. In the foreground the Yahoos stab and tumble. Above them the Houyhnhnms

"stand  
In ecstasy  
Fixed and free."

In them the instant grace of nature takes on the constant beauty of the Achaean horses.

Part of the quality of *Struggle* comes from its principle of composition. Orozco never followed Rivera, with cynical naïveté taking Trinitarian grouping from religious art; yet he did keep the bilateral symmetry of the Renaissance. Here he begins to absorb into his *direct* art the deeper lessons of Cubism. *Struggle* is built on a zig-zag line. This line of composition drops away from the horse rearing, to cross the flank of its fellow and disappear behind the falling man. Thence it rises to the fourth horse. Plunging again behind the second man, it lifts to the edge of the panel. Related to this line, a tulip-form repeats in muscles of shoulder and of quarter, becoming explicit on the last horse's breast. It is the formal theme of the composition, with variations throughout. This kind of structure, continuous, flowing, "musical," develops away from the pyramids of the *Hidalgo*.

The development is clearer in a second panel, *Battle*. If one compares *Battle* with older combat scenes, the change is plain. The angle has replaced the ellipse which was dominant from Rubens to Delacroix. Instead of the curving and returning lines there is a broken rise and fall. So far it is almost a return to Uccello. But instead of the composition of the Renaissance, this is based on that interlocking of verticals, horizontals and diagonals which one finds in Juan Gris. Bilateral symmetry has given way to irregular masses intricately balancing.

*After Battle* (Fig. 3) shifts towards Expressionism. Its composition is based on an uncompleted parallelogram. The base forms itself on the dead horse lying in the forward plane (a head that was certainly "lifted" from Picasso's *Guernica*). Thence the completed side mounts along corpses obliquely leftward to the panel's edge. An upper parallel is made by the second horse-cadaver breaking off with stiffened leg—a black pointer dominating everything. This unfinished figure disappoints the eye. It sets up a strain, a tension. Orozco marks it by the way he tilts the group a little, as on the slope of a hill.



In the chaos of bodies the forms open out in flat arabesque, with a stressed foreshortening which irons them away to nothing. In this way, by purely formal means, Orozco gives drama to his composition and to the second female figure walking into the circle of the dead. This panel exists for her. For by the same method as in the *Hidalgo* and the *Ideologies*, Orozco is projecting here the Woman of Mexican Revolution. In this expressionist head, this flowing figure, he builds up a concept of the *soldaderas* who dragged themselves and their children after the insurgents; and by forming their commissariat did much to make the long fight possible. This is the only panel at Jiquílpan in which Orozco is not the misanthrope.

The last five of the black-and-white panels are of far less interest. *The Overseers* carries on the Swiftian commentary, with an application more specific. Two *caporales* ride, one towing a bound prisoner from his saddle-horn. A crowd of peons follow.

Two of the other drawings are not murals but caricature magnified. Their chief interest is to supplement the *Hidalgo*, the *Ideologies* and the University. For here Orozco turns upon ochlocracy and mob emotion. Shapeless figures scream with mouths that are their only feature, waving flags and clubs or rocks to throw. The drawing comes out of the artist's commentary, but in this case there is no more than an impatient sneer. It is without composition and almost without form: a savage lampoon.

The other two are execution scenes. One of them does show Orozco's peculiar perception of death-by-violence. Faces and figures are *direct* projections of the mortal spasm, the final killing pain. Otherwise both panels are drawn academically—without much academic competence. Finally, the colored decoration at the entrance returns to the symbolism of the main panel. By either jamb a discomfited tiger scrambles up a cactus plant, while two spherical Muses pirouette above. A ribbon stretched between these performers transmutes itself, surprisingly, into a snake. As to the meaning of this work, there could be many opinions; as to the painting only one.

## V. THE SUPREME COURT, MEXICO CITY

The "symbolic" manner Orozco revived at Jiquílpan continues in Mexico City. It stares from the main wall at the Supreme Court in the *Resources of Mexico*. Fusing comment with architectural relation, Orozco composes in strata pressed down by the low ceiling. Below at the right lies Gold, a Punch-headed skeleton tailing off in endless ribs through which a lizard crawls.

Opposite, Iron is figured in forged blocks and bars on a pepper-red background; Copper, the next stratum, by an Aztec idol. Above Gold, Silver is a rococo paper knife, a conventionalized woman, tapering to a long blade. Dividing the lower wall, thrusting from its picture plane, is a head, half-beast, half-serpent. Oil fountains from its mouth. Arching the panel as at Jiquílpan a tiger springs, trailing the Mexican flag. This Ringling performer is painted pinkish-tan, blotched with markings which bring out no form but stick on the plaster surface. Red and green of the banner also refuse to focus in the eye; they remain dead paint on the wall.

Other parts of the wall are more successful. The advancing oil-head is hacked out with short, wild strokes, very expressionist. It is a brown—dark, almost viscous—broken with gray; and the eyes are pits of blue shadow. Silver's decorative plumes have the softness of hair parting, though their pink and blue-grays are killed by the surrounding colors. Gold gets back the sparkle of chromatic drawing. But even here, drawing coming of no *direct* comment, one feels the lack of vision. All through the rest of the panel the forms are unrealized.

The murals flanking the *Resources* complement each other in composition and in theme. One comments on the exploitation of the weak by crime, the other on "Justice." The architecture has left Orozco two mean spaces, both blocked by pillars, each pierced by a center doorway. Instead of ceding to this mesquin plan, as an American muralist might do, the Mexican breaks open and rebuilds the wall. At each panel end he puts a structural motif: in one a sort of elevation with lines of support and strain; in another, angled masses towering. His drawing cuts the wall away like pasteboard. On each side of the hall a double architectural recession takes the place of masonry. Yet in this *trompe d'oeil* Orozco does not slip into Renaissance perspective. He extends the building as a Masaccio might do but in Cubist vision. Equilibrium, proportion and tension, built up from flat-painted areas, give the architectonic mold. Then above each doorway drops a figure, plunging like a Tintoretto angel. Her movement is balanced by that of a beam of fire, the two arching the doorway in a V inverted. On either side of this visitation all other figures recoil, giving a rushing movement to the panels.

Unfortunately the scenes themselves have nothing of the power of their compositional setting. Human sinfulness revenged by Justice from the skies is kin to the Victorian symbolism of Jiquílpan and the University—and this weaker comment has *direct* effect in the impoverishment of form. Some details



Fig. 2. JOSE CLEMENTE OROZCO, *Struggle*  
Jiquilpan, Cárdenas Library



↑  
Fig. 3. JOSE  
CLEMENTE OROZCO  
*After Battle*  
Jiquilpan, Cárdenas  
Library



Fig. 4. JOSE  
CLEMENTE  
OROZCO  
*Panel*  
Mexico City  
Supreme  
Court



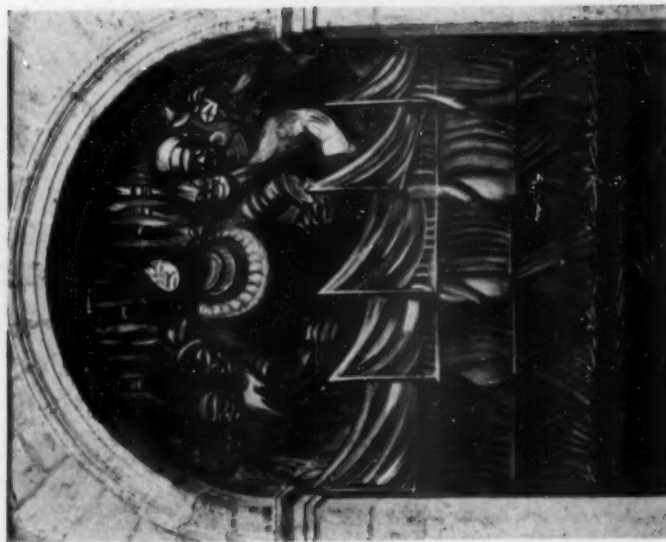


Fig. 5. JOSE CLEMENTE OROZCO  
*The Cannibals, First Panel, Totalitarian Series*  
Guadalajara, Orphanage

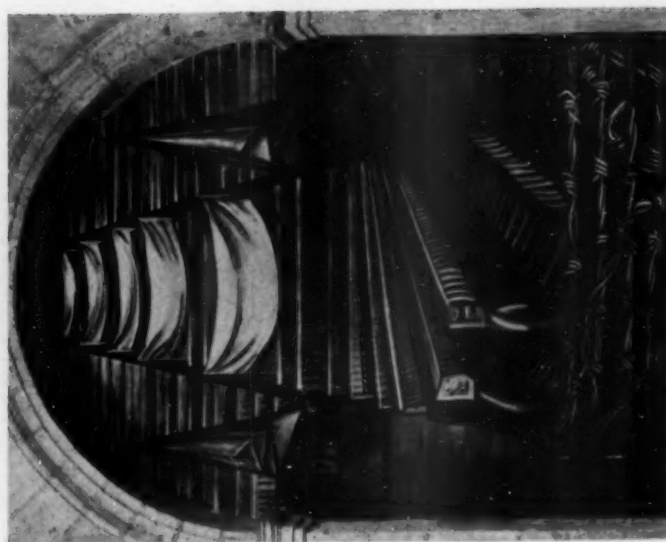


Fig. 6. JOSE CLEMENTE OROZCO  
*Second Panel, Totalitarian Series*  
Guadalajara, Orphanage

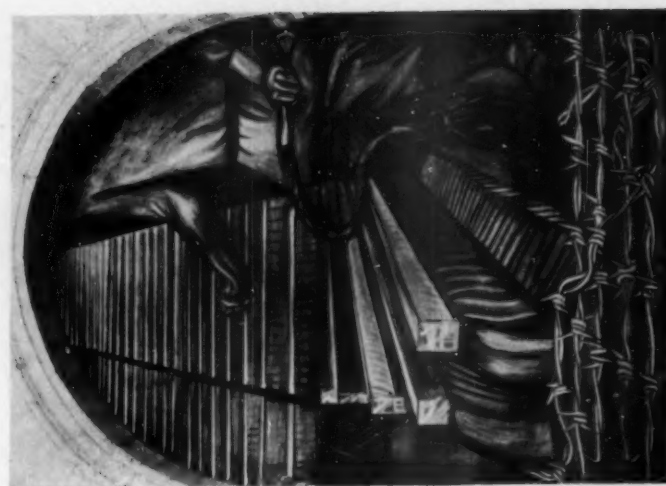


Fig. 7. JOSE CLEMENTE OROZCO  
*Third Panel, Totalitarian Series*  
Guadalajara, Orphanage



are superb but, on both walls the main figures are banal. There are gangsters from the "slicks" and cartoons of shysters which look back to the *Ladies of Fashion*. Also color is unsatisfactory though again detail is successful.

Orozco is full of surprise: here, with three mediocre panels, he has produced one that is among the best of all his work (Fig. 4). It hangs facing the *Resources*, on a wall above the stair-well. At right angles it is flanked by window galleries. Space opening below, light from both sides, a weight of stairs dropping against it: these set the conditions. They ask a "strong" composition—but free the mural from the architecture. The painter takes occasion to drop bilateral symmetry—as he did in *Battle and Struggle* at Jiquílpan—for the mathematic symmetry of Cubism.

Indeed, this panel is too complex for any analysis save an algebraic one. On the left are verticals: flag and doorway; girder and lifted arm. Their relation is at once lateral and recessive. The result is a tension, a visual excitation, indescribable in ordinary terms. Again, there is the use of space bending. After the recession of the doorway, both sky and foreground advance from the picture-plane, just as the forms in Cubism will do. Finally, this composition is *multiple*. For example, that inward drive begun by a plunging figure in the left foreground continues behind the neutral area of the flag. It does not affect the panel center based upon the static of the doorway. Nor is it related to a counter-thrust, as demanded by an older symmetry. Instead, it emerges in the upward-rushing figures of the right-hand corner.

If this panel is among Orozco's greatest in composition, it is so too in chromatic drawing. He uses the two areas of single color, flag and doorway, as foils to the broken surfaces. The brittle forms of the flag are modeled up in a warm harmony of reds, while the doorway, a cold red-brown, is smoothed to a flat gleam. That hint of *trompe d'oeil*, as though a reflection from the windows, points a contrast with the figures. The plunging man at left is projected in slashes of black, browns, pink and heavy blue on a ground of greens. His great volumes are brought out with single strokes, some two feet long, bounded with a running outline of enormous power. The same open painting marks the bending headless figure at the extreme right, but more glittering, more chromatic. On roughened plaster the ground-tone of green shifts and rises with the figure. On this tone the rib-lines stand in the same colors as before; the whipping brown-and-white strokes of the arm rest on no ground at all. Below such Expressionist lines the hand, drawn blue-on-white, has a curious elegance. In the center three figures in silver-green repeat the drooping

pose, increasingly Expressionist in analysis. They are blocked into their own segment by the perpendicular dropped from the doorway, across their necks, to the thigh line of the nude in the foreground. It is a mathematical strictness of composition. And yet the geometric forms are brought out of the natural ones, never imposed on them as in Rivera or Charlot. So the vitality is unimpaired.

One doubt remains, if Orozco is a *direct* painter, his forms must emerge from his commentary. This composition is one of his finest — yet one of his most abstract. The same problem will be raised by parts of his masterpiece, the murals of the Guadalajara Orphanage. To solve it here one must follow where the abstraction leads. The revolutionary thrust of the leftward figure is dissipated in the wrangling men. Below, the headless man makes a movement of desperation. His pose is repeated in the center figures, brokenly. Again, the tension between arm and pillars gives the former its ambiguity; it is at once a gesture of fury and the support of the unfinished arch. So too in the drawing—*directness* refined and intensified. The ribbed bending figure has a psycho-physical feeling, but more formalized than before. Then in the center is the sprawling nude, raw pink under greenish white. Without their romantic mysticism, it has the Expressionists' angularity of pain.

After the creative agony of the *Hidalgo*, after the disillusion of the University, after the Swiftian irony of Jiquílpan, this panel sums up Orozco's commentary. There is a passionate feeling for the people themselves. So much effort and courage and each surge ebbing away in dissension and "politics." So much hope and achievement—and life still so hard. The heart of the great skeptic is here. But beyond frustration is the unfinished doorway. The faces float in black or white outline against atmospheric pink and green. They are not the Expressionist masks of Hidalgo's men, but idealized faces of the heroic dream. With them is repeated the builder's trowel. This painting has the *directness* of a cry. Then superimposed in white outline as though by after-thought, there is a final comment: the gorilla's mask and arm.

## VI. THE ORPHANAGE, GUADALAJARA

The murals of the Orphanage, though done seven years ago, are still the climax of Orozco's work. Elements have been added since, especially in the use of Cubist symmetry. But the Orphanage was Orozco's opportunity: a whole interior to decorate. The stone pavilion by Manuel Tolsa with its central

cupola and double portico is good nineteenth century building. It is mechanical, correct and cold. How to fill it with the violence of *direct* painting, yet keep the architectural relations? On the one hand, the building was less friendly than the Capitol. On the other, the scale was too large to be transformed like the Supreme Court walls.

The solution is typical of Orozco. Just as his style will shift to keep the *direct* vision, it adapts itself now to architectural needs. He paints in three distinct manners. For the walls a general mural style: shallow in recession, closed in form, and chiefly low in key. Within this style there is broad variation. He gives expressionist feeling to the *Totalitarian* panels. Another group recall his first murals with their echoes of Italy and Spain. In still another the Cubist influence shows, again in the earlier form. But throughout, the mural style gives weight and vastness to the walls.

The second manner appears in the vaulted ceiling. Unlike the first, this is unvaried in style and commentary. The vaults form a series on the Conquest of Mexico. Their chromatic drawing, high in key, breaks up the forms into facets, like Léger's machine *Compositions*. Clear too is the influence of the Cubist-Expressionism of Marc; and even here there is sometimes a hint of Giotto. This painting with its infinite recession takes the arcs and angles of Tolsa's roof and lifts them outward, their correctness dissolving into the arch of the sky.

The third manner is found in the complex of the Dome. Beginning quietly in the ring and squinches, it rises to analytical Expressionism of the boldest kind. The *Prometheus*, which is its climax, is the antithesis of the University Dome. It goes up almost without limit.

Returning to the frescoes along the walls, it is easiest to begin with those painted in a more or less post-Cubist manner. These differ from the rest of the wall painting in being high in key, with clear blues, earth-red and silver-grays, and sometimes green or yellow. The first panel, *Burning City*, has a tranquil detachment. Its conventionalized buildings are a toy town. Tissue paper flames twist from the windows. The second panel has the faceless figures of a knight and a lady flanking a pillar. Here one begins to see that Orozco is using simplicity for his own ends. There is a hint of the fatality of Chirico's eternal game of chess. This is clearer in the third piece, *A Colonial Shield*. A helmet surmounts a coat-of-arms, with a postern at which men in armor struggle. Here, as in the deserted gaiety of the *Burning City*, life holds its breath. It withdraws from the human and passes into objects, into buildings, into



arms, making them animistically alive. Speaking in the introduction to *Le Sang d'un Poète*, Cocteau said something like this of heraldry: "Think what lies beyond the images on which you are looking now. What is being told by this castle, this bend sinister, these clasped hands? Here there are many years and the lives of many men. Yet all that remains is the flag, blue, and a field of stars." As Cocteau, as Chirico. Orozco here makes a *conceptual abstraction*. By a sort of fetishism the images call up a whole world which lies behind them and which they imply. With the Surrealists this is an art "oblique" in kind; its images are concepts abstracted from a universal dream. With Orozco it pushes on the line begun in the *Ideologies*. Abstraction increases as the reference widens, as the unseen subject grows in complexity. For here instead of ten, Orozco is dealing with three hundred years: the whole Colonial age.

The second group—resembling the Preparatoria walls—is made up of five panels, divided between the right and left wings of the building. All are heavy, and low in key. In one, a wheel stands detached against a garish sunset. Below the ground lie bones, strata of earlier times. In a second, Guadalajara is overborne by its dark church tower. Here Orozco uses ambiguity again: the flat-topped houses seem like coffins. The third panel is filled with architectural *patisserie*. The remaining two show the founder of the Orphanage with a crowd of the poor, drawn rather in the style of Kaethe Kollwitz, moving to his feet. Save for the sentimental drawing of the crowd, all this leans heavily on Spain. In some of the lunettes above the doorways following the same style, the Giotto influence is also obvious. These panels are the lowest point of Orozco's painting at the Orphanage, without color drawing, dull in content and form. Their only function is to make a heavy curtain for the walls, weighting them to carry the painted ceiling.

The third division of the wall paintings is made up of the three *Totalitarian* panels (Figs. 5-7). Their common base is a cold, blackish-green, shifting in tone. All Expressionist colors are emotion-equivalents but commonly they work within a general scheme. Here the single color sets the feeling-tone of all. It absorbs light, absorbs space, absorbs hope. Unbroken in the low foreground of the panels, barbed wire runs along against the green. These strands, drawn in flicks of white on blackish-green, complete the mood. They are *direct* Expressionism of the strongest kind.

On this emotional base Orozco builds his painting. The *Cannibals* (Fig. 5) is the left end panel. The huge crested savage with his inward-hooking arms seems to carry the rhythm of a drum. That movement is repeated above in his



heavy necklaces, outward in the crowd behind. This rhythm runs through them all: plumed Africans, Japanese military and naval figures; natural and synthetic savages. Thus far the approach is that of Grosz' satires. But as the eye travels back there is a change. "Far other worlds and other seas." From the Groszian satire the scope of reference widens to the blind wash of the tropic forest. What is the comment toward which the painter builds? He indicates the thing which lies behind the black, brilliant stare of a savage and of a Nazi: brutalism so far outside humanity that it does not even comprehend the thing it kills, the world it ruins.

Instead of representing the troops which march before the cannibals, Orozco has made an abstraction of their movement. Form of the legs marching. Form of repeated bodies. Form of heads succeeding one another in a rhythmic band. Unlike the *Colonial Shield*, this abstraction is not conceptual but formal; but it is still dictated by the commentary. What that implies comes out in the second panel (Fig. 6). There, troops or storm-troopers march across the wall. They descend with double-ended banners and wheel in turning lines. A touch of red in the flags; otherwise the drawing silver-gray on green. As the files clank down they grow more schematized. The oblong banners stiffen into bars. The ranks take on an oppressive ambiguity until, as they wheel, they become long mechanic arms. Totalitarianism has produced *l'homme machine*. In the third panel (Fig. 7) the automatic columns drop again, ready-dehumanized. Beside them on a larger scale is the *deus ex machina*. High boots are painted in an orange-dun, atrocious in the flow of green and gray, linked to a color in the *Cannibals*. A classic Expressionist discord for a *direct* end. Above the boots, the figure of a giant cut off shoulder high by the wall. A whiplash hanging. No head, no eyes. Belly, boots and a whip, no more.

After the totalitarian night there is release in the ceiling vaulting. The Conquest series begins in the left wing, with Philip II hugging a giant cross. Next come the *Horses of the Conquest* (Fig. 8); then a Franciscan to complete the group. In the right wing Cortez stands above the dead. Then comes the *Battle Scenes*. The *Mechanical Horse* is last, Orozco's comment on the whole which brings it back again to *l'homme machine*. Yet, despite this conclusion and a forecast of Apocalypse on the wall below—there is this sense of liberation. Does the visual esthetic, then, deny the commentary? I do not think so. While superficially Orozco follows Léger and Franz Marc, he really uses Cubism far more as it was used by Wyndham Lewis. The Cubist vision carries a sharp sense of material quality. This Lewis exploited to make form analysis

express, within itself, his satiric commentary. Orozco repeats that experience now. His analysis gives the same immediacy as does the camera eye; and like Eisenstein in the film *Alexander Nevsky* he uses the material contrasts for expression. Because the approach is formal, the color clear and calm, the vaults have a detachment which yet does not violate the commentary.

Take for example the *Horses of the Conquest*. The machine *Conquistador* at left is analysed in facets, white and black, silver-gray and blue. By plastic, not illusionistic, means, these areas build up the feeling of a mass of steel. The Indian's crisp broken forms, fan of ribs and triangle of knee, give the material contrast. The whole comment is there. Again, the central figure on his double-headed horse is remote and small and cold. The beast is his antithesis in sentient life—but part of his terror for the Indians. These are the visual contrasts which Eisenstein made between the great machine of the Teutonic Knights and the Rubenesque Russian levies. The Russian and the Mexican are making much the same comment by similar plastic means. In this panel the sensuous contrasts go on in the painting of cadavers. To the right the browns and greens of the new dead have a carnal freshness. In the center disintegrated forms of the older corpses are painted with silver lights on teeth and bone and rotting phosphorescence. Behind, the fire rises. Then infinite recession and glacial lights of the vault.

Save when he is academic Orozco is never "literary." The effect of his painting comes from analysis of form, even while form emerges from his commentary. But of all his repertoire this ceiling manner is most *malerisch*, most completely painting. In the Giottesque Franciscan vault an Indian kneels, his forms translucent to the green background. Behind the monk's head leans a blonde genius, machine-like as the *Conquistadores*, dangling a scroll of the alphabet. Literacy in exchange for liberty and life. Again, in the *Cortez*, the Conqueror rests his sword point on dismembered Indians. Machine bolts jut at knee and hip and shoulder. That blue steel geometric mass, the shattering of organic forms, are plastic comment on the Spanish Juggernaut.

After the decorative center panel, *Battle Scenes*, the end vault is a kind of summary. Characteristically, in this manner, the *Mechanical Horse* is the gayest and most chromatic piece of all. A zoomorphic tank with armored horseman rears its way and above it folds the banner of Castille. The thing is a blaze of blue and silver, red and black and gold. Orozco has never been nearer to bringing Color off successfully.

But at once, to point the meaning of the gaudy rider, follows *Apocalypse*

(Fig. 1) below. Figures so black they turn to purple. Another coffin town, so gray it turns to stone. The rider might be an early Archipenko sculpture given the movement forms of Duchamp's *Nude*. Orozco needs only to add a swirl of black above—*direct* calligraphy at its most simplified—three more lance points below; and one horseman has become the Four. Painting is always a sort of esthetic shorthand. The more the seer can read into the plastic form, the wider is the painter's range of reference. By asking more response he can deepen his own meaning. This Orozco is doing here. For the panel is a summary and a prophecy. This is the end point of the Renaissance cycle. The end of the modern tyrannies, of Philip, Louis XIV, Frederick, Napoleon, Diaz, Mussolini, Hitler. The end of *l'homme machine* and his clockwork armies.

"We who were living are now dying  
with a little patience."

This power or conception persuades Justino Fernández that Orozco is a "philosophical painter."<sup>2</sup> Can this be justified? Orozco has an attitude toward the process of history, certainly. He expresses general concepts in that field. Is this "philosophical painting"? The use of concepts alone does not make it so. The *direct* painter must use them to project the unseen subjects of his painted commentary: war or law, sex or politics. The presence of an attitude—that is the first need of a satirist. Were this enough, every political cartoon would be philosophy. The term must be kept to its proper meaning. There are painters who incorporate philosophic concepts and attitudes into their art as a whole. Such artists draw on philosophy as an Impressionist on nature or Picasso on art: Leonardo da Vinci, Giorgio di Chirico, René Magritte. Like all *direct* painting, Orozco's is romantic and lyrical. Unlike most, it is monumental too. But what he has brought back into painting is not philosophy but history. For all the influence of Karl Marx, Orozco is the first to do that successfully.

The climax of the Orphanage and Orozco's best architectural painting is the Dome. First come the squinches: four clinging nudes, one with a rifle slung across him. The figures are drawn with angled strokes of brown and white on heavy green. But the angle here is not the Cubist facet-of-a-volume. It is an index of effort, a summary of movement, a spear point of pain. Orozco is using the method of the *Brücke* painters to intensify the figures from his own drawings and illustrations—*Los de Abajo*.<sup>3</sup> In the ring above are the arts of living and of life: a stack of corn, a sculptor's *maquette*, a smith hammering. Mexican culture was never fissured like those of Europe and of North America. The arts were never taken from the people, nor the crafts spoiled. So Orozco need



not see these things either as a still-life painter or an academician. For a Mexican they have associative meaning still, not separate from their plastic quality.<sup>4</sup> And in this quiet Expressionist drawing, cool greens and buffs and white, the painter uses them to heighten the sense of life.

From these elements the Dome itself takes rise (Fig. 9). The reclining figures echo the cupola as *Hidalgo* did the stair-well. They anchor the painting. For this they need bulk—yet without mass which would be pulling at the rising curve. So their shapes are amorphous, gray dropping into black; their gestures frozen. Heads and hands are vivid and intimate. "How forcefully and eloquently Orozco draws the hands," exclaims Carlos Mérida. "He makes them talk. . . . The interpenetration of those cosmic poles of electricity—the fingers of a man."<sup>5</sup>

The bearded head is a dark-ringing blue, rounding out the spheroid of the skull. The second is built up with yellow-greens. In both, the drawing is as biting *direct* as the Mussolini in the *Ideologies*, although the comment here is not satirical. Up from these flies the Prometheus. He is not on fire—he *is* fire. Painted in warm and cold browns of ascending key, the forms splay out at the extremities and take on the shapes of flame before they become flame itself. This is lyrical Expressionism, but on a geometric base. Figure and even flames echo the triangles made by the other elements. The whole Dome is lifted on angles of force and strain. They make it infinite in recession and let the Prometheus rush like a roman candle up into the sky.<sup>6</sup>

Size—size and scope—is the feeling left one by the Orphanage. When one walks out through the garden and looks down the hill, Guadalajara seems a town in miniature. After the *directness* of this painting and the integration of this form, natural form is diffuse and tiny, the life of the streets unimportant. Art makes a self-consistent world from the stuff of the daily world and the stuff of dreams; not illusion but essential reality. With Orozco's chords beating inside one, one can catch a basic sense of things and ignore phenomena. For a little, one is "a constant, plucked from the flow." So it is possible to go on living.





Fig. 8. JOSE CLEMENTE OROZCO, *Horses of the Conquest*  
Guadalajara, Orphanage



Fig. 9. JOSE CLEMENTE OROZCO, *Prometheus*  
Guadalajara, Orphanage

<sup>1</sup> Justino Fernández, *Orozco en Jiquilpan*, Hoy, Mexico City, May, 1941. (trans.)

<sup>2</sup> "[Orozco] creates a new, personal world, which has universal significance because it is identified with the most recent tendencies in philosophy." Again, "The rich significance of his expression, with its profound religious and philosophical ramifications." (trans.) Justino Fernández, *op. cit.*

<sup>3</sup> Mariano Azuela's novel was published in translation, with Orozco's illustrations, as *The Underdogs*.

<sup>4</sup> The very idea is contradictory in an industrialized culture. Its validity in Mexico is made clear in Anita Brenner's *Idols behind Altars*.

<sup>5</sup> Carlos Mérida, *Orozco's Frescoes in Guadalajara*, Francis Toor Studios, Mexico, 1940.

<sup>6</sup> See *20 Centuries of Mexican Art* (Museum of Modern Art, New York, 1941), p. 176, for a fair color reproduction of the Prometheus alone.

## SPACE CONCEPT AND PATTERN DESIGN IN RADIO-CENTRIC CITY PLANNING

By PAUL ZUCKER

NINETEENTH century romanticism looked upon the winding street and picturesque view of the medieval town as the very climax of artistic beauty in city planning.<sup>1</sup> Throughout the romantic period, the attempt to imitate these features represented a luxury indulged in only after the requirements of the surveyor and real estate man had been fulfilled. However, for the last generation or more, it has become a matter of course that the layout of each town or part of a city, like the architecture of an individual building, represents the integrated total of all functional and aesthetic considerations.

The elementary factors of modern city planning, as defined by Patrick Abercrombie,<sup>2</sup> are six: the most perfect organization of traffic; the best possible location of industry; the most hygienic and economic layout of housing; the most functional organization of public service; the creation of the necessary open space; and finally, the development of a well articulated community pattern. These six fundamentals of modern city planning have to be amalgamated, each receiving its due share. The final balance of functional considerations cannot be developed simply out of one more rational calculation, however, but will be dictated by conscious or half-conscious aesthetic tendencies. Such aesthetic tendencies are not any vague ideas of "beautiful vistas" or "pretty greens," but are determined by a specific spatial concept. And this spatial concept is, as we believe, still rooted in basic ideas as developed first by the Renaissance theoreticians.

Even in the Middle Ages, not all towns "just grew," as the Romantic period believed, from natural conditions such as a convenient river site or strategic hilltop, or crystallized about an existing nucleus of castle and monastery. Many medieval towns were actually newly founded and built according to a preconceived plan. The essential features of ancient Roman layouts were not only preserved in ancient cities such as Cologne (*Colonia Agrippinensis*), Trier (*Augusta Trevirorum*) and Verdun (*Verodinum*), for example, but the general standards and concepts of antiquity remained alive to a certain degree through the Middle Ages and found expression in new foundations. The numerous Gothic towns in France, built between 1200 and 1350, Aigues



Mortes, Sauveterre de Guyennes, Carcassonne, Montpazier (1248), as well as the eastern German colonial cities of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, such as Breslau, Cracow, Neu-Brandenburg, were all organized on the checker-board plan developed from the old Roman *castrum* and enclosed by square or polygonal fortifications.

However, a spiderweb as layout of a medieval town, as found in Bram, near Carcassonne, Aix-la-Chapelle and a few other French and Flemish examples, can never be traced to preconceived city planning. In each case it is characteristic of a town which grew of itself,<sup>3</sup> and represents the gradual crystallization of a settlement about a pre-existing sacred center or protecting fortress. Unwin's ideas to the contrary<sup>4</sup> cannot be proved. Thus, the planned city<sup>5</sup> as it reappeared in Europe well before the Renaissance, followed the still forgotten form of the ancient Roman *castrum* and was in no sense an original invention.

## I

Now, the ideas of the Renaissance theoreticians had as little in common with the medieval *castrum*-planned town as with the non-planned centric town of the Middle Ages. Believing firmly that human life could be entirely rationalized by philosophical and logical schemes, the Renaissance designers embodied this belief in their plans for human habitation. It must, therefore, be emphasized that rational ideas and not any kind of a new spatial concept were the first incentives for radio-centric schemes of the Renaissance. Only gradually this rationalizing tendency and the growing feeling for integrated spatial relationship as expressed and articulated in Renaissance architecture, converged in the creation of centralized city layouts.

Although the theoreticians of the Renaissance liked to invoke the authority of Vitruvius, there is no exact data on city planning to be found in his *Libri*.<sup>6</sup> He presents no concrete schemes, and any hints and suggestions on exemplary planning of cities are scattered through his treatise in combination with entirely heterogeneous problems.<sup>7</sup> The Vitruvius editions of 1511, 1513, 1522, 1523 and 1543 by their typographical arrangements demonstrate that the respective editor-publishers had no special interest in his ideas on city planning as such. Those solutions which actually had been executed during Vitruvius' lifetime, such as the *fora* of Imperial Rome or Rome's colonial cities in Asia Minor and elsewhere, neither illustrate nor clarify his ideas.

It must be assumed then that despite their references to the authority of the past, the Renaissance artists were actually original in their planning concepts.

It was only a general preference for absolute measurements and regularity which they shared with antiquity. Neither Hippodamos' theories for the development of Greek cities, nor Plato's utopian "Atlantis" nor Aristotle's ideas in the "Politics" nor Vitruvius' vague hints had any direct influence on the Renaissance. Contact with antiquity has been kept not by the planned city of the Renaissance, but, as said above, by those medieval cities which had been erected on genuine Roman foundations, or by the new foundations of the period which followed the old *castrum* scheme.

The first theoretician of city planning in the Renaissance is Leone Battista Alberti,<sup>8</sup> in whose work, however, the new ideas are not yet quite clearly developed. He discusses the ideal topographical location of the city, its relation to the landscape, the principles of its organization, and the entire complex of economic and traffic conditions in their bearing upon the plan. Most interesting from the viewpoint of future stylistic development is Alberti's recommendation for the chief monumental structure of the city, the central domed church with a round, centric layout. Alberti shaped this ideal some forty years before its first embodiment by Bramante in the *Tempietto di San Pietro in Montorio* (Fig. 1), which was the first actualization of that idealized architectural background depicted so often before in Quattrocento paintings.<sup>9</sup> However, while the central domed building was the leading idea of Renaissance architecture almost from its beginnings, the centralized city square with its radiating streets, as we find it with Alberti, is merely the crystallization of a methodical thought, purely intellectually conceived, a two-dimensional pattern and not born of any specific concept of this form as a shape of space. Not yet! Only later the sensuous spatial importance of this idea became recognized as the intrinsic goal of Renaissance city planning. As this idea appears with Alberti for the first time, incomplete but unmistakable, its purely intellectual origin is proved by its motivation. It is *concinntas*, the complete harmonious balance he is striving for in architecture as well as in city planning. Therefore his suggestion of the central domed church with the round centric layout leads immediately to a correspondingly organized city plan. It is by no means the imagination of any three-dimensional form which originated it. He even draws on Plato to motivate his idea, although there is no known example in antiquity of any centralized or regularly polygonal layout.<sup>10</sup> (Pierre Lavedan's reconstruction of the Hittite town of Sendschirli is entirely hypothetical.) Some lines by Aristotle are vague, while Plato's utopic city represents merely a sociological idea. As for the actually built Greek or Hellenistic cities, from

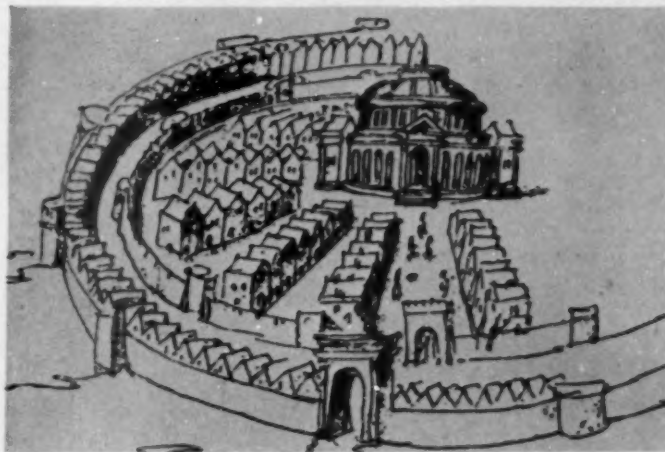
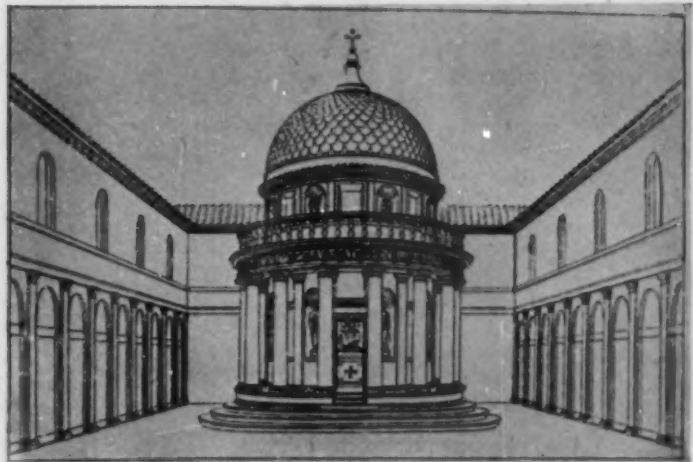
Miletus to Pergamum, most of them show a very subtle feeling for location and plastic values of individual buildings, sometimes even for the emphasis of axial directions, but never any perception of the shape of open space. And the Roman *castrum*, though it emphasizes the center as the crossing of two main streets at right angles, this center, the *forum*, is never characterized by any specific feeling for space or space relations.

In the treatise of Antonio Filarete, written between 1460 and 1464 and published posthumously,<sup>11</sup> we find the first actually drawn Renaissance plan. It relies partially on Alberti's ideas. After discussing various specific buildings for the planned city, Filarete, evidently stimulated like Alberti by Plato's vague description of his "Utopia," actually draws the plan of an ideal city, translating Plato's suggestion, as he interprets it, into a concrete visual scheme. Called Sforzinda, in honor of his sponsors Francesco and Galeazzo Sforza, Filarete's ideal town is laid out as a regular octagon with central square and eight radiating streets,<sup>12</sup> a scheme of decisive importance in relation to all future plans from Palma Nuova and Granmichele in Italy to Washington, D. C. and Le Corbusier's "Ville Radieuse." Although almost contemporary with Alberti's description, the plan impresses us as being less theoretical and dogmatic than Alberti's. The mere fact that it was designed as well as described makes us feel that an architect's feeling for space, volume and proportions may have played a greater part in its shaping than with Alberti.

Francesco di Giorgio Martini (1439-1502) in his treatise<sup>13</sup> uses the octagon both for the central square and for the peripheral bounds of his projected city, indicating how strongly now all the units of a city plan were felt to be merely subordinated elements of a greater spatial order. Martini differs also from his predecessors in that his radial streets impinge on the sides of the polygon rather than upon its angles, for better protection against weather, an arrangement that recalls Vitruvius' comments on the same problem. Martini's ideas were repeated (Fig. 2) almost literally by *un maître inconnu Italien*, identified by Geymüller<sup>14</sup> as Fra Giocondo (after 1500), whose conception was set down by Jacques Androuet Ducerceau about a hundred years later. Now the gap between the schematic organization on a merely intellectual basis on the one hand and the actually sensuous new feeling for space and volume as shaping elements for the city on the other, begins to be bridged. The architecture of the period and the city planning gradually become related and can be traced to identical concepts. Strictly centralized organization, radiating within the smallest space element of the whole form, can be found here and there.

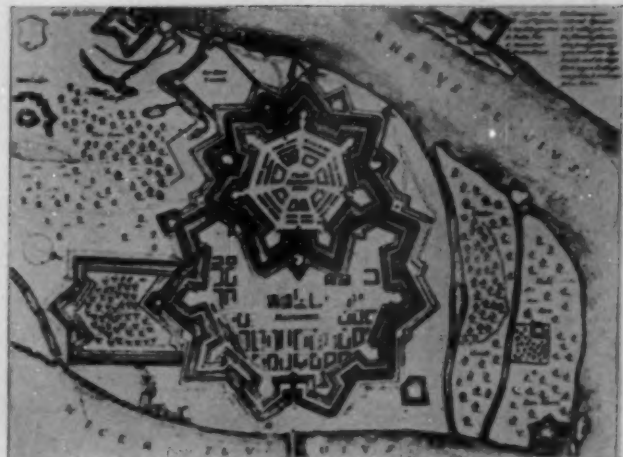
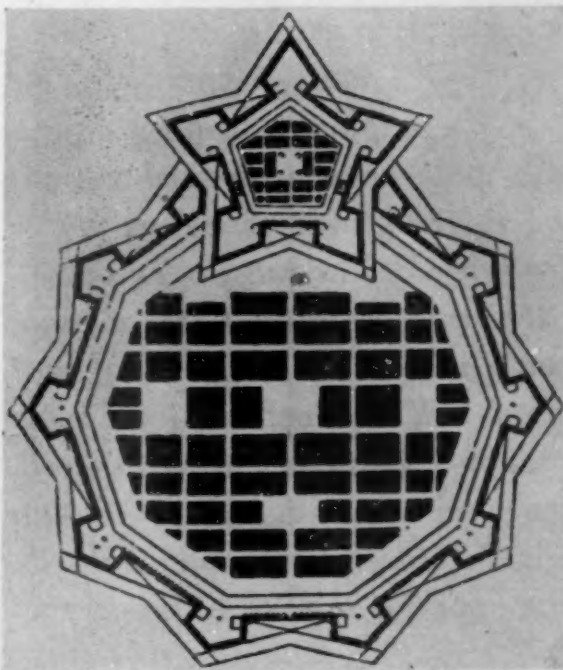


Fig. 1. DONATO BRAMANTE →  
*Tempietto di San Pietro in  
 Montorio, Rome*



← Fig. 2. FRA GIOCONDO  
*Plan for an Ideal City (about 1500)*

Fig. 3. PIETRO CATANEO  
*Ideal Plan (about 1567)*



← Fig. 4. Mannheim, Germany  
 (Merian-Zeiller)



Fig. 5. Palma Nuova (Braun-Hogenberg, "Civitates")



Fig. 6. Grammichele (L'Universo, 1920)

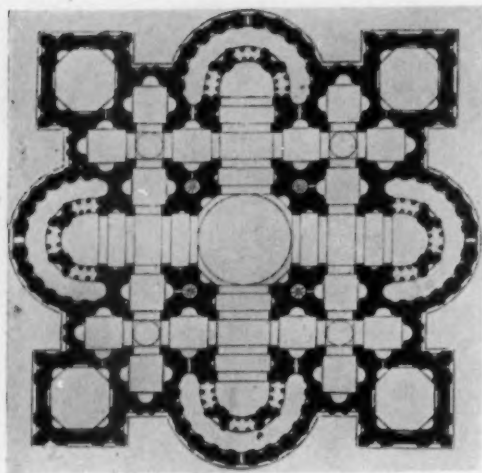


Fig. 7. BALDASSARE PERUZZI  
Project for St. Peter's, Rome

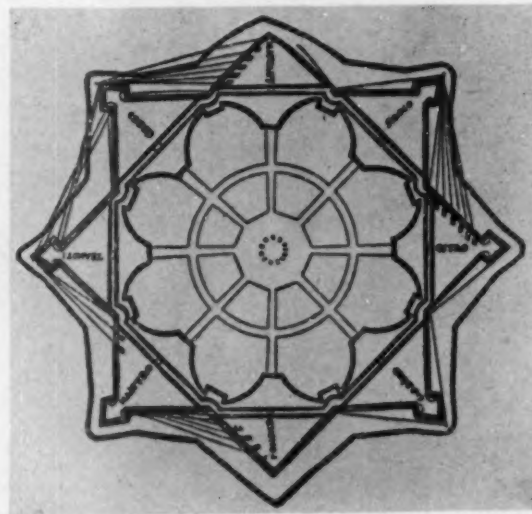


Fig. 8. GIROLAMO MAGGI, *Ideal Plan*, 1564

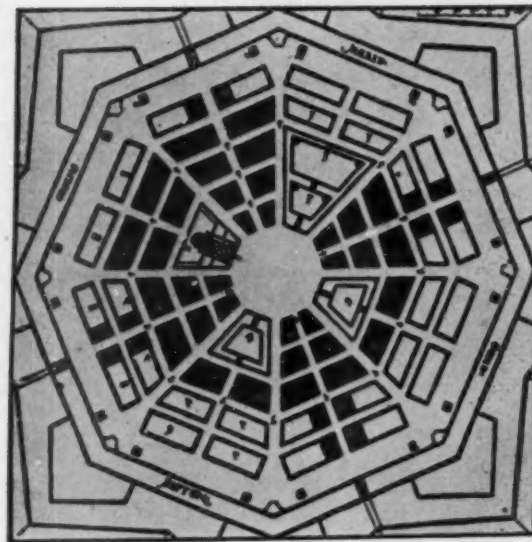


Fig. 9. DANIEL SPECKLIN, *Plan for an Ideal City*

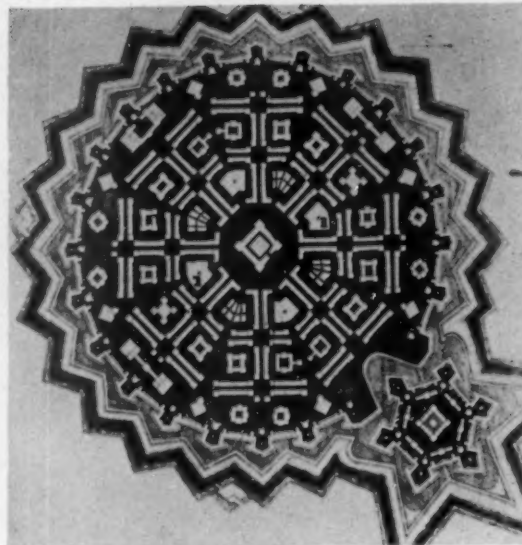


Fig. 10. JACQUES PERRET  
*Plan for an Ideal City*, 1601

## II

It is difficult for us to realize, from our modern practice, the close connection between these theoretical treatises of the Renaissance and the actual construction of the times. The treatises were regarded by every builder as collections of model designs rather than as theoretical proposals and aesthetic speculations. To appreciate their wide-spread use, it is only necessary to read that even in far-off Mexico a book dealer in 1584, during the Spanish colonization, received with a single shipment of books four copies of Vitruvius, four of Alberti and two of Serlio.<sup>15</sup> The interaction between theory and practice was constant and effective.

In Germany, the ideas and suggestions of Albrecht Dürer<sup>16</sup> are governed entirely by the requirements of fortification, with no weight given to purely spatial conceptions. Nor, curiously enough, do the Italians, Sebastiano Serlio and Andrea Palladio, whose treatises cover almost every architectural topic, contribute anything further to the problems of city planning. They merely repeat the suggestions and ideas of Alberti and Filarete.

It was Pietro Cataneo,<sup>17</sup> a scholar who had no connection with the world of the great architectural speculations of the Vitruvian Academy, who developed a large number of new city plans in varied detail, all of them based on the regular polygon (Fig. 3). Some of these plans include a special citadel for the ruler or tyrant of the city, repeating in miniature the scheme of the city proper. Although it is quite obvious that Cataneo plays with variations of a given two-dimensional scheme for the pattern's sake, it seems nevertheless that by this time the spatial meaning of the centralizing tendency is simultaneously felt. There were too many buildings already erected whose elements were organized on this concept.<sup>18</sup> One hundred and fifty years later, one of Cataneo's suggestions was realized in the German town of Mannheim (Fig. 4). Here the checkerboard plan of the city proper is bounded by polygonally laid-out fortifications, while the attached citadel extends from the town as an explicit spatial unit which recapitulates the large polygonal form. Within the smaller polygon of the citadel we find again the typical main square, also polygonal, and streets radiating from this center.

The original unvaried ideas of Alberti and Filarete had been before actually realized in construction by the town of Palma Nuova, built in 1593 by Vincenzo Scamozzi. Scamozzi in his theoretical work,<sup>19</sup> insists emphatically that a city is not a product of nature but the result of purely artistic planning superseding even technicalities of fortification. The plan of Palma Nuova (Fig. 5), the



first realization of a consistently developed radial scheme within a nonagon, is self-explanatory and needs no special analysis. Quite obviously, Scamozzi's importance is not proved by the invention of any new forms but by the originality of his integration of elements created by his predecessors. Military considerations play a part only in so far as all sections of the city could be reached and controlled from the center.

For the contemporary planner, it is the new conception and organization of space which are of special interest. Now, definitely it is no longer the pleasure in ornamental graphic work, looked at primarily from a two-dimensional viewpoint, but actually the three-dimensional realization of the design which drives the artist. The volume of rows of houses lining streets and squares, the "Koerperform," keeps a definite balance in relation to the framed open space, the "Raumform." It can be said that the whole city becomes a translation of the interior of the central domed building into the open space. The Bramante-Peruzzi-Raphael-etc. projects of St. Peter's in Rome (Fig. 7) and Palladio's Villa Rotunda in Vicenza are as much the forerunners of this concrete city plan as are the theoretical suggestions of Alberti and Filarete. Palma Nuova presents the same strictly radial organization focusing on the cleared central space as do the church and the villa, lacking only the central roof to complete the parallel. In each case the individual units of space—bays, niches, domed nave in the church, central hall in the villa, streets, insulae and main square in the city—are conceived as elements of an identical order.

In his later writings, Scamozzi still further modified the plan of Palma Nuova by combining the polygon with the grid scheme yet retaining the radially symmetrical distribution of the separate smaller squares, streets and other subordinate elements. A hundred years later, at Granmichele (Fig. 6), built in 1693 for Carlo Caraffa, the later plan of Scamozzi's was realized, slightly modified, though without fortification.

### III

The approach of these Renaissance artists must seem entirely strange to the modern city planner. He misses all those considerations by which modern planning is so largely directed. Despite a few remarks by Filarete and his successors, such problems as economic and social needs, public health and traffic are very rarely discussed. The intrinsic problem of adapting various geometric schemes to the accidents of local topography and geographic condition is generally hardly touched. The Renaissance theoreticians appear to be

entirely concentrated on the aesthetic aspect of their problem. Practical considerations, if any, are limited to fortification and facilities for internal administration of the town. Housing and other social problems as we think of them today, are subordinated to a single basic relationship: that existing between the commander or tyrant of the citadel, the *principe*, and his subjects. Economic factors have no independent weight, since in all these ideal city projects it is assumed that the land and the best sites will be distributed by the ruler, who might even advance the funds needed for creating such a new habitation.

Thus it was in the newly founded cities of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, with their absolute overlords, that the theoretical schemes of the sixteenth century planners were more and more frequently realized. However, there was one feature in which a marked difference is to be noted. The first Renaissance schemes favored the circular-shaped or polygonal main square for the heart of the city, into which the radially arranged streets empty—with no specific consideration of inter-urban traffic. The seventeenth century towns reverted to the rectangular central square. Traffic now can be directed along the sides of the quadrangle without crossing the central space. In this it differs from the earlier Renaissance schemes. Aside from this one "functional" factor, it was then possible for the designer to be led merely by aesthetic considerations, a degree of freedom which might arouse the secret envy of modern city planners, hampered as they are by a maze of functional and technical restrictions. These aesthetic considerations, however, are now, in the Baroque period, dictated by a changed feeling for the relationship between the masses (volume) of the buildings and open space. While even the sometimes very complex patterns of the Renaissance artists showed the tendency to isolate the volume of the individual building as a unit, the Baroque designer tended to compose all the buildings into a single mass. This mass as a whole became opposed to the free opening of street and square. Thus the Baroque created a far more dynamic articulation of space elements.

The last third of the sixteenth century sees the radio-centric system in general theoretical and practical use. Of the many writers who elaborated the idea in their works, we need mention here only Vasari il Giovane's *Città Ideale*,<sup>20</sup> and the great treatises on fortifications by Girolamo Maggi (Fig. 8)<sup>21</sup> and Francesco Marchi.<sup>22</sup> In Germany it was Van Schille<sup>23</sup> and Daniel Specklin or Speckle (Fig. 9),<sup>24</sup> in France Jacques Androuet Ducerceau<sup>25</sup> and Jacques Perret<sup>26</sup> who treated the same idea with many variations and modifications (Fig. 10).

Reality, however, kept step with theoretical demands. The ideal plans of the great writers reappeared and circulated through drawings and more-or-less legitimate copies by craftsmen, artisans, and builders. There are towns like Philippeville, built in 1555 by Philip II of Spain as a fortress against the French. Here the streets converge on the main square, which, in concentric zones, is surrounded by boulevards (ring streets), perpendicular to the radial streets. A German example is Freudenstadt, built in 1632 by Heinrich Schickhardt (1558-1634). In this town the radial system is combined with a quadrangular outline (Fig. 11). Freudenstadt is of special interest as the first town of rectangular layout where the old checkerboard is not applied.

An interesting variant is the French town of Neu-Breisach, in whose layout Sebastien le Praitre de Vauban, Louis XIV's famous military engineer, combined the checkerboard scheme with center square and radiating streets. Neu-Breisach, built in 1699, thus developed further the plans conceived by Vasari il Giovane in 1598 (Fig. 12).

The tremendous influence of the radio-centric scheme upon the city planning activities of Peter I of Russia and his successors, exemplifies furthermore the far-reaching compass of these ideas in the eighteenth century. Many total or partial solutions of this type can be found in Russian cities, founded during this period.<sup>27</sup>

After the middle of the eighteenth century, these ideas were still quite alive; thus, for instance, in the most popular *Dictionnaire d'Architecture*<sup>28</sup> of the time, the article on "Fortification," when it discusses town planning, gives as illustration an example of the radio-centric type. And even as late as in the end of the eighteenth century, Claude Nicolas Ledoux (1736-1806)<sup>29</sup> designed industrial plants, his "bergeries" and "recreations publiques," like miniature cities on the strictly radial system (Fig. 13) indicating how firmly these concepts dominated the imagination of planners through the centuries. To the best of present day knowledge, Ledoux's projects are the last in the line begun by Leone Battista Alberti before the new development of the twentieth century.<sup>30</sup>

However, following up this development it should not be forgotten that in spite of the identity of the structural scheme the spatial concept of the layout changed completely from Alberti to Scamozzi and his contemporaries and then again in the eighteenth century to Ledoux as shown above. The profusion of ornamental play, the artificial subdivisions, forced symmetry of squares, arbitrary or playful variations in the degree of street angles, all finally became



so complex and sophisticated that it is hard to say whether these later city planners of the end of the seventeenth and of the eighteenth century thought seriously at all in terms of space.

#### IV

However, even during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, at the height of the enthusiasm for patterned planning and construction, the actual building of whole cities brand-new from the foundations up, like Philippeville, Freudenstadt and Neu-Breisach were the exception rather than the rule. The application of the radial layout was most often limited to new sections or to the rebuilding of old sections in cities already long existent. The result of merging an originally topographically-determined layout with the subconscious ideal of the radio-centric scheme is the fan-shaped town quarter sponsored especially by the absolute rulers of the eighteenth century.

The prototype of such a partial solution can be found in Rome, the city which during the Middle Ages and especially during the Renaissance, stood for THE CITY in the imaginations of artists and city planners. Only in the eighteenth century was it surpassed by Paris as the ideal of urban culture. Thus we take a Roman example as prototype for a solution which, derived from the radio-centric scheme, was to be applied in many European cities through the following centuries.

During the Middle Ages, of course, Rome was scarcely more than a skeleton of ancient streets and squares, framed meagerly by houses and occasional ruins of the old Imperial city. Under Pope Sixtus V, Domenico Fontana was the first who tried to organize the unconnected sections under one logical scheme. Michelangelo's earlier project for the Piazza di Campidoglio concerning only this very spot, limited by a specific topographical condition, cannot be classed as a real modern effort at city planning in Rome.<sup>21</sup> Neither can the Via Giulia, the first monumental avenue of the Renaissance, constructed by Giulio II with the help of Bramante, be considered as the product of real city planning. It is not conceived as the product of a larger organism but represents merely an attempt to file a row of buildings, only to the advantage of the individual structures, but with no reference to the respective city quarter as a whole.

About the middle of the sixteenth century, a series of plans tell us about the general development of the capital of the world. The quarter centered on the Piazza del Popolo with its two churches, Santa Maria in Monte Santo and Santa Maria dei Miracoli, where the Via di Ripetta, Corso and Via del Babuino

converge, recalls fragmentarily the radial scheme of the great theoreticians (Fig. 14). The Via di Ripetta and the Corso existed already in ancient times and the Via del Babuino originated in the Quattrocento, but only now did the skeleton become the basic element of a large section-wide spatial organization. Here we have the attempt to articulate not the main square of a city, but the main entrance to the Eternal City, the one Rome, emphasized by the most powerful spatial accents the Baroque period could find but derived from the ideal projects of the Renaissance designers.

Sir Christopher Wren (1632-1723) in his plan for the reconstruction of London, 1666, was also influenced by these ideas, though the actual layout of London when rebuilt reflected little of them. In France, the radio-centric scheme is taken up in all its grandeur, though as a fragment, with the layout of Versailles, begun after 1662. Here the main axes of park, alleys and avenues, both converge on the castle, creating sectors at least of an incomplete radial scheme. Even the landscape architect Andre LeNôtre followed the city planner in adapting his park and garden elements to the radio-centric scheme. Karlsruhe in Baden, laid out about 1750, exhibits the same organization as Versailles, with radii fanning out from the castle (Fig. 15). Many of these radii were not true city streets, but simply lanes and alleys cutting through the surrounding parkland and woods. The small residential town of Neu-Strelitz, Germany, 1726, had been laid out before on similar lines. The Circus of Bath, in England, repeats the scheme with three radiating streets (1754). Bath may be considered a mixture of revived ideas of antiquity and the continuous Renaissance tradition.

Even in Russia we find the Admiralty Square in Leningrad reflecting a similar scheme with its three main converging streets<sup>32</sup> while the same plan determined Berlin's Friedrichstadt quarter around the Belle-Alliance Platz. These few examples, selected at random from the great number of eighteenth century partial city plans, testify to the vitality of the basic Renaissance invention.

In the United States, Washington, D. C. is the classical and impressive embodiment of the Renaissance ideal, modified by the ideas of the eighteenth century and combined with the block-gridiron system. The original plan for the capital, as conceived by Pierre Charles L'Enfant (1755-1825) has been modified sharply in many respects (Fig. 17). The conflict between L'Enfant's use of the French eighteenth century version of the radial system and Thomas Jefferson's emphasis on the square block becomes obvious. Though Jefferson

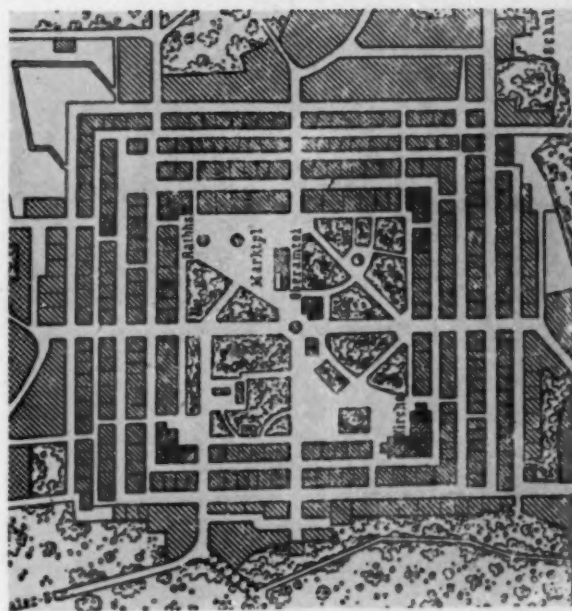


Fig. 11.  
HEINRICH  
SCHICK-  
HARDT,  
Plan of  
Freuden-  
stadt, Ger-  
many, 1632

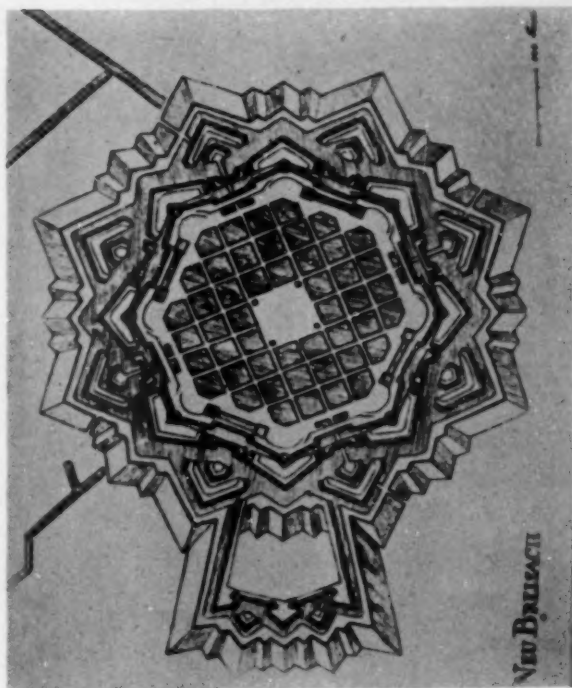


Fig. 12.  
Neu-  
Breisach  
(Plan taken  
from Riese,  
"Historisch-  
geograph-  
ische Be-  
schreibung"  
... Frank-  
furt, 1794)



Fig. 13.  
CLAUDE  
NICOLAS  
LEDOUX,  
View of  
Chaux



Fig. 14.  
Piazza del  
Popolo,  
Rome, 1748



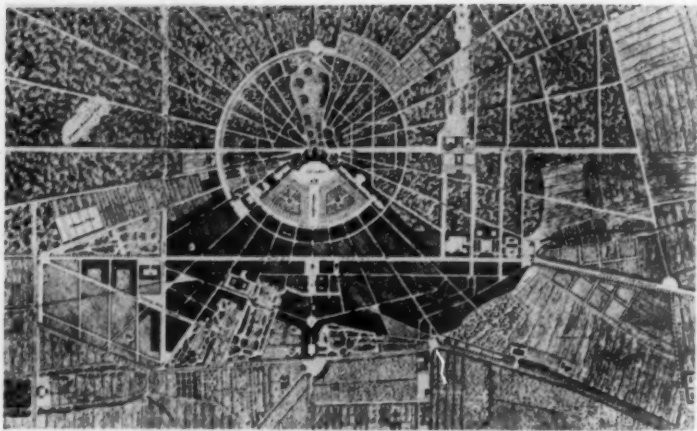


Fig. 15. Karlsruhe, Germany, 1822



Fig. 17.  
PIERRE CHARLES L'ENFANT  
Plan of Washington, D. C.

Fig. 16. EBENEZER HOWARD  
Scheme for a Garden-City, 1902

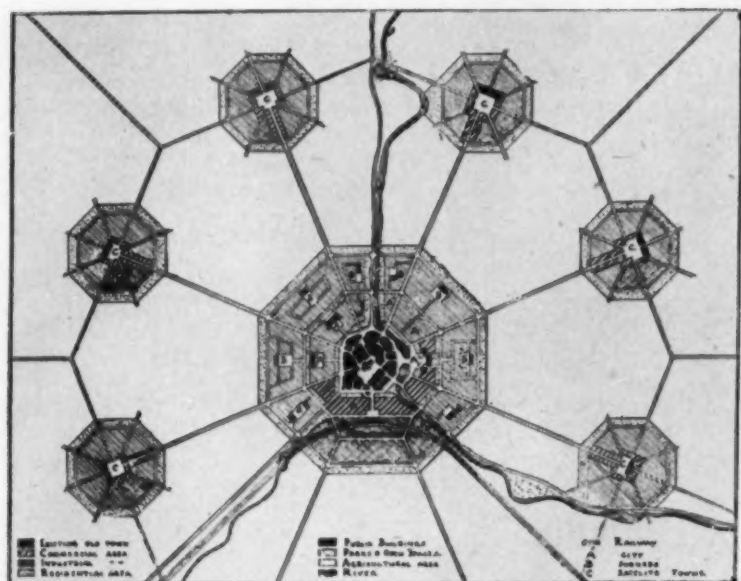
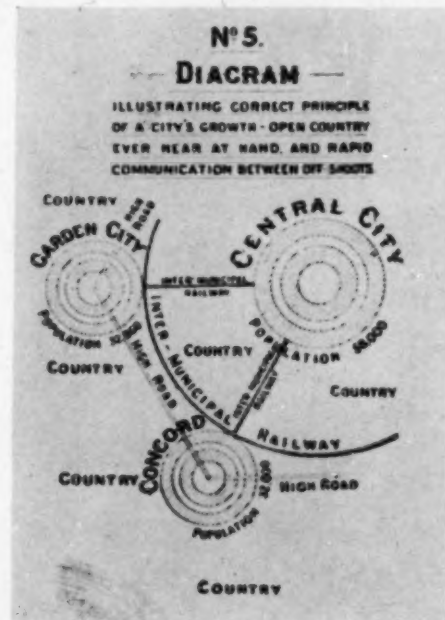


Fig. 18. RAYMOND UNWIN  
Scheme of Satellite-Town

himself was deeply interested in European cities<sup>83</sup> and cherished their plans, which he often discussed with L'Enfant, he considered the gridiron system superior to the radial.

The original layout of Annapolis, Md., made after 1700, shows traces of the radial ideas, and in the "Governor and Judges' plan" for Detroit,<sup>84</sup> designed by Woodward in 1807, the radial plan in all its purity, obviously influenced by L'Enfant, is clearly visible. In 1820, the first plans for Buffalo, N. Y., and in 1821 those for Indianapolis, Ind., also reflected the radial concept of city planning.

However, not each complex of converging streets need be considered as an outgrowth of Renaissance theories. For instance, in New Orleans, La.,<sup>85</sup> the radial configuration arose naturally when, in the extension of the city, new streets followed the frontiers of former plantations broken into rough sectors.

## V

Even when the Baroque designers of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries elaborated their most sophisticated plans for the sake of the pattern, the underlying conception of space was never entirely lost. Only the nineteenth century introduced, instead of spatial organization, the ideal of the picturesque view as the principle of city planning. The monumental building was used as an effective backdrop, like a stage set, and not as an element to accentuate space. Under the overwhelming influence of merely literary and romantic notions of the picturesque, any feeling for spatial organization in city planning practically disappeared.

However, the twentieth century, with its revised architectural instincts, went on where the eighteenth century left off: spatial conceptions again began to influence city planning. Peculiarly, even those pioneers who approached city planning primarily from a practical and functional point of view used forms created by predecessors whose concepts were based primarily upon aesthetic considerations. Any interest in the ornamental two-dimensional pattern of a layout had now, of course, entirely vanished, but even a man like Ebenezer Howard,<sup>86</sup> whose ideas of open space, greens, gardens, etc. were dictated by social and hygienic principles, designed ideal projects built upon the radio-centric scheme (Fig. 16), though this concept in itself had nothing to do with his actual problems. But generally, this form of visualizing a city as an architectural unit seemed still to be the most natural. How much of the original spatial ideas still were realized in these designs, remains an open question.

Sir Raymond Unwin is definitely not primarily interested in aesthetic and formal problems, which he would regard as "formalistic." Yet he uses as nucleus for his scheme of satellite towns a radio-centric layout (Fig. 18).<sup>37</sup> And in London's Hampstead section, executed by Unwin in 1913, he realizes again the fan-shaped town-sector as it was found in Rome, St. Petersburg (Leningrad), Berlin, Bath, etc. The German post-World War I settlements, such as the Dessau-Siedlung "Hohe Lache," 1926, and the Berlin-Britz "Horseshoe" settlement, 1928, play with identical form ideas.

These modern planners make no frank admission of their — probably unconscious—debt to the ideas of the Renaissance. All motives and designs are explained entirely on the basis of practical and contingent factors like traffic regulation, need for isolated playgrounds, solar orientation, etc. While these considerations, of course, are prime and are never disregarded in favor of abstract design, yet aesthetic aspects certainly entered into the final solutions of the projects mentioned.

Most outspoken is the idea of definite centralization with Le Corbusier,<sup>38</sup> even where he calls it "decentralization." All his ideas are based on a concept which, although thoroughly different as to appearance, is principally very close to the basic idea of the Renaissance scheme. The basic element in both cases is no longer the row of block units, the individual insulae with their varying combinations of volumes, but rather the free space. To be sure, the shaping factors are those of modern life; however, the essential structural skeleton is not changed but merely translated into new architectural terms. To a certain, although lesser degree, the schemes of José Luis Sert contain similar elements.<sup>39</sup>

While it is true that today the topographical and functional, the economic and sociological factors are decisive, their very multiplicity demands of the designer some principle of integration richer than that of mere expediency. No city can be laid out by merely satisfying the independent and often even conflicting requirements of surveyor, real estate agent, engineer and social-economist. These conflicting needs cannot be integrated by giving preference to some more-or-less preferred claims, but only by the introduction of one superior principle. This leading idea is represented by the recognition of spatial organization as the primary factor. Surely, the radio-centric scheme in all its different stages of development does not represent a panacea, but it shows, at least, the priority of a unifying spatial conception in city planning.



- <sup>1</sup> Camillo Sitte, *Der Stadtebau*, Vienna, 1889, develops this approach most distinctly.
- <sup>2</sup> Patrick Abercrombie, *Town and Country Planning*, London, 1943.
- <sup>3</sup> T. F. Tout, *Mediaeval Town Planning*, Manchester, 1913; C. Aronovici, "Glimpses of Democracy in Mediaeval Urbanism," *Journal American Society of Architectural Historians*, 1944.
- <sup>4</sup> R. Unwin, "Eastern Factors in the Growth of Modern Cities: Baghdad and Saint Nicholas," *Journal of the Manchester Egyptian and Oriental Society*, 1916.
- <sup>5</sup> The relationship between grown and planned cities has been principally discussed in the following works: J. Stübben, *Der Stadtebau*, Leipzig, 1924; H. V. Lanchester, *The Art of Town Planning*, London, 1925; P. Lavedan, *Histoire de l'Urbanisme*, Paris, 1925; J. Gantner, *Grundformen der europäischen Stadt*, Vienna, 1928; P. Zucker, *Entwicklung des Stadtbildes*, Berlin, 1929; R. Unwin, *Town Planning in Practice*, New York, 1932; R. Danger, *Cours d'Urbanisme*, Paris, 1933; P. Lavedan, *Géographie des Villes*, Paris, 1936; L. Mumford, *The Culture of Cities*, New York, 1938.
- <sup>6</sup> Vitruvius, *The Ten Books on Architecture*. English translation by Morris H. Morgan, Cambridge, 1914. See especially Book I, 4-7.
- <sup>7</sup> Karl Lehmann-Hartleben, "The Impact of Ancient Planning on European Architecture," *Journal American Society of Architectural Historians*, 1943.
- <sup>8</sup> Leone Battista Alberti, *De Re Aedificatoria*, Florence, 1485; Otto Stein, *Architekturtheoretiker der Renaissance*, Karlsruhe, 1914; M. L. Gengaro, *Leon Battista Alberti*, Milan, 1938.
- <sup>9</sup> Jacob Burckhardt, *Geschichte der Renaissance in Italien*, Stuttgart, 1904; Paul Zucker, *Raumdarstellung und Bildarchitektur im Florentiner Quattrocento*, Leipzig, 1913.
- <sup>10</sup> A. von Gerkan, *Griechische Stadtanlagen*, Berlin, 1924.
- <sup>11</sup> Antonio Averlino Filarete, *Trattato dell' Architettura*, Ed. by Wolfgang von Oettingen, Vienna, 1890. The figures transferred, partly reconstructed from the original codices (Magliabecchianus and Valencianus) are not authoritative.
- <sup>12</sup> A. E. Brinckman, *Stadtbaukunst* (Handbuch der Kunstwissenschaft), Potsdam, 1920.
- <sup>13</sup> Francesco di Giorgio Martini, *Trattato di Architettura Civile e Militare*. Ed. by Cesare Saluzzi, Torino, 1841.
- <sup>14</sup> H. de Geymüller, *Les Ducercean*, Paris, 1887.
- <sup>15</sup> John McAndrew and M. Toussaint, "Tecalí, Zacatlan and the Renacimiento in Mexico," *Art Bulletin*, 1942.
- <sup>16</sup> Albrecht Dürer, *Elliche Unterricht zu Befestigung der Stett, Schloss und Flecken*, first ed. 1527.
- <sup>17</sup> Pietro Cataneo, *L'Architettura*, Venice, 1554.
- <sup>18</sup> Paul Zucker, *Baukunst der Renaissance* (Handbuch der Kunstwissenschaft), Potsdam, 1927.
- <sup>19</sup> Vincenzo Scamozzi, *L'Idée dell' Architettura Universale*, Venice, ca. 1615.
- <sup>20</sup> A. E. Brinckmann, *Platz und Monument*, Berlin, 1908.
- <sup>21</sup> Girolamo Maggi, *Della Fortificazione della Città*, liber III, Venice, 1583-4.
- <sup>22</sup> Francesco de Marchi, *Del Architettura militare*, liber III, Brescia, 1599.
- <sup>23</sup> Van Schille, *Form und Weis zu Bauen . . . und auff zu richten . . . Allerley Wehrliche Vestung, Schlösser, Burgen und Stett*, Antwerp, 1573.
- <sup>24</sup> Daniel Specklin (Speckle), *Architectura von Vestungen*, Strassburg, 1589.
- <sup>25</sup> H. de Geymüller, *op. cit.*
- <sup>26</sup> Jacques Perret, *Des Fortifications et Artifices*, Paris, 1601.
- <sup>27</sup> A. E. Brinckmann, *Stadtbaukunst* (Handbuch der Kunstwissenschaft), Potsdam, 1920; Hans Blumenfeld, "Russian City Planning of the 18th and early 19th centuries," *Journal American Society . . .*, 1944.
- <sup>28</sup> M. C. F. Roland Le Virloys, *Dictionnaire d'Architecture*, Paris, 1770-71.
- <sup>29</sup> Claude Nicolas Ledoux, *L'Architecture . . . premier volume, contenant des plans . . .*, Paris, 1804, second volume, Paris, 1847; Emil Kaufmann, *Von Ledoux bis Le Corbusier*, Vienna, 1933.
- <sup>30</sup> F. C. M. Fourier, *Cités Ouvrières*, Paris, 1849, developed a remarkably clear understanding of their inner meaning.
- <sup>31</sup> Karl Lehmann-Hartleben, *op. cit.*
- <sup>32</sup> Hans Blumenfeld, *op. cit.* The gradual change of an originally river-created city into a pseudo-radio-centric scheme in the example of Moscow is especially interesting.
- <sup>33</sup> Sidney Fiske Kimball, *Thomas Jefferson Architect*, Boston, 1916.
- <sup>34</sup> *City Planning in Old Detroit*, Detroit Public Library, 1922; B. L. Pickens, "Early City Plans for Detroit, A Projected American Metropolis," *The Art Quarterly*, VI (1943), 35.
- <sup>35</sup> *City Planning and Zoning Commission of New Orleans*, Mayor Street Report, New Orleans, 1927.
- <sup>36</sup> Ebenezer Howard, *Tomorrow, A Peaceful Path to Real Reform*, London, 1898.
- <sup>37</sup> Raymond Unwin, *Town Planning in Practice*, London, 1909; *Old Towns and New Needs*, Manchester, 1912.
- <sup>38</sup> Le Corbusier, *Urbanisme*, Paris, 1928; *La Ville Radieuse*, Paris, 1933.
- <sup>39</sup> José Luis Sert, *Can Our Cities Survive?* New York, 1943; Francis Violich, *Cities of Latin America*, New York, 1944, publishes a project of Goiania, State of Goiás, Brazil, designed by Attilio Correa Lima, 1943, which represents a combination of Unwin's ideas with influences from the École des Beaux-Arts.

## MABUSE AND THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE FLEMISH RENAISSANCE

By GUSTAV GLUCK

ONE of the most remarkable, influential and interesting painters of the Renaissance movement in the painting of the Low Countries is Jan Gossaert, called Mabuse. At the beginning of the seventeenth century he still was considered "one of the first who brought from Italy to Flanders the right way of composition and of painting histories, replete with nudes and all sorts of poetical matters which had not been in use before his time in the Netherlands."<sup>1</sup> This praise seems *mutatis mutandis*, justified even today. Thanks to the investigations of the last decades, especially by Max J. Friedländer,<sup>2</sup> we have learned a great deal about Mabuse's artistic development. Nevertheless the rather complicated matter is still not quite clear and some points call for further elucidation. We are particularly interested in Mabuse's connection with the "Antwerp Mannerists" on the one hand and in his relation to Italy on the other.

Although his activity in Antwerp has been traced as early as 1503-1507 by documentary evidence, we are handicapped by a lack of exact dates for the earliest paintings we are entitled to consider his. According to an ingenious suggestion of M. J. Friedländer which I am definitely ready to agree with, two rather important works ought to pass for such: the delicate and charming triptych of the Lisbon Museum, representing the *Holy Family* with angels in the center and St. Catherine and St. Barbara on the wings, and the attractive panel in the Wedells collection, Hamburg (Fig. 1), also with the *Holy Family* surrounded by St. Catherine, St. Magdalen and angels. Both works obviously are painted in the style of the "Antwerp Mannerists." But the subject matter, particularly that of the second, is not so usual or frequent in this group of painters as the Adoration of the Kings, for instance. It was used again by Mabuse in a signed pen and sepia drawing of the Copenhagen print room,<sup>3</sup> obviously a sketch for a picture, to be dated a little later than the two paintings just mentioned. The same type of composition, which might be called *Beata Virgo inter Virgines* and sometimes is combined with the Mystic Marriage of St. Catherine, evidently comes from the school of Bruges where it was continually employed in the latter part of the fifteenth century by Memling and his contemporaries like the Master of the Lucia Legend and the Master of 1499 and later by Gerard David and Adriaen Isenbrandt. A good example

of this type may be found in the *Virgin in the Rose Garden* by the Master of the Lucia Legend in the Detroit Institute of Arts.

It is not difficult to explain how this pleasing subject found its way to Antwerp. Artists who moved there from Bruges must have brought it with them at the beginning of the sixteenth century, when several circumstances made such a change desirable and frequent. A hitherto unpublished picture in the Museum of Caen (Fig. 2) may, for instance, give evidence for the combination of Bruges and Antwerp elements. On the one hand the grouping of the principal figures is typical of the Bruges manner of composition. We find it in Bruges pictures from about 1480, like the Detroit Virgin and Saints just mentioned.<sup>4</sup>

The Bruges origin of the composition of the Caen picture being ascertained, we find on the other hand decidedly Antwerp traits in its types and costumes, and especially in its landscape. So we are entitled to conclude that its painter in fact belonged among the emigrants from Bruges to Antwerp and might be considered one of Mabuse's predecessors. Such an artist is the Master of Hoogstraeten<sup>5</sup> and, as a matter of fact, his characteristics—these female saints with small round eyes without lights, with languid glances and chubby faces, and that narrow, homely landscape—are to be found in the Caen painting. This master received his make-shift name from the fact that a great part of his most important work, an altar dedicated to the Seven Sorrows of the Virgin, came to the Antwerp Museum from St. Catherine's Church, Hoogstraeten. But since this altar, judging from its style, ought to be dated about 1505, it could not have been painted for that church, whose construction was begun by Rombout Keldermans as late as 1524. So in spite of his name, we do not know exactly where the Master of Hoogstraeten lived. But from the style of his paintings, from copies of his compositions in the style of the Antwerp Mannerists, and from other evidence we may conclude that his place of residence was Antwerp, which by the way is not far from Hoogstraeten. But he originally seems to have come from the Bruges school, as I proved for his Caen picture, and as Max J. Friedländer pointed out in considering his borrowings from Gerard David in an *Adoration of the Kings* belonging to Captain E. G. Spencer Churchill's valuable collection at Northwick Park.<sup>6</sup>

The Master of Hoogstraeten no doubt belongs, with Goswin van der Weyden and the Master of Frankfort, to the group of painters who worked at Antwerp about the end of the fifteenth and the beginning of the sixteenth century and from whom the Antwerp Mannerists, in my opinion, derived their



style. Several close connections between paintings by these three artists and the early works of Mabuse have been ingeniously and correctly stated by Max J. Friedländer. I am however inclined to give them a different interpretation than did Dr. Friedländer. Judging mainly by the quality, he considers Mabuse in such cases as the originator. His superiority in quality is indeed evident from the beginning, but it need not necessarily mean priority. The principal group of the Virgin, Child and St. Catherine in the Wedells collection picture by Mabuse, is, as to composition, exactly identical with the corresponding part of a similar picture by the Master of Hoogstraeten in the Johnson collection of the Philadelphia Museum. Certainly Mabuse's version is richer, more fluent and more attractive as a whole. But the much simpler, more awkward and less harmonious group by the Master of Hoogstraeten decidedly betrays a somewhat earlier style. It seems more likely to me that Mabuse took over the motive from the older master, ameliorating and enriching it in his own way, than that the Master of Hoogstraeten should have copied a few figures from Mabuse's picture in order to obtain nothing but this much poorer and more antiquated composition.

Mabuse follows another of his predecessors in one detail of the Wedells collection picture. He used, as a prototype for the architectural background of a kind of hall with bas-reliefs representing legendary scenes, Goswin van der Weyden's *St. Catherine* triptych in the collection of the late Sir Herbert Cook in Richmond<sup>7</sup>; but he succeeded in giving the rather stiff motive of the older master a more rounded and attractive shape, besides adorning the pillars with tendrils like those employed by the Master of Hoogstraeten in the background of his picture in the Johnson collection.

Another curious connection has been observed, by the eminent connoisseur to whom we owe so much, between the standing figures of St. Catherine and St. Barbara on the wings of the Lisbon triptych by Mabuse (Fig. 3) and two pictures of the same subject by the Master of Frankfort in the Pannwitz collection (Fig. 4). The attitude of the saints being exactly the same, there can be no doubt about the close relation of the two pairs of paintings. But who was the originator, the inventor of these gracefully posed figures? Even at first glance it does not seem probable that the much older Master of Frankfort should have copied the little figures of the younger artist on a scale more than three times as large. It is easier to imagine, too, that Mabuse might have enriched the already sumptuous garments of the saints by fluttering ribbons in the Mannerists' style, than that the Master of Frankfort would have simpli-

fied the costumes and translated the whole into his decidedly earlier style. Another detail, though slight, may point to the same solution. In one of the Pannwitz wings St. Barbara is holding a big ostrich feather, which is not one of her usual attributes (like the dungeon and prayer-book for instance) and might be thought to replace the peacock or palm fan she sometimes wears. This ostrich feather seems to have been popular in the Master of Frankfort's studio, since we find it introduced, in exactly a similar shape, into the representations both of St. Barbara, in the wings of a triptych in the Berlin Museum and in the Leo Katz collection, Berlin, and of St. Cecilia, in a wing belonging to one of the Frankfort altars (at Matthiesens, Berlin, 1929).<sup>8</sup> Since all of these pictures are earlier in style than the Pannwitz wings, it cannot be considered possible that the Master of Frankfort took over this motive from Mabuse's little triptych in Lisbon.<sup>9</sup>

In general the Master of Frankfort, like all the Flemish painters of the time, was certainly not too proud to copy. But neither was Mabuse disinclined to deck himself out with borrowed plumes, particularly in his early period. We know for instance that he copied the charming work of his great ancestor Jan van Eyck, the *Virgin in the Church* (Berlin), in the left part of a diptych, now in the Doria-Panfilii Gallery in Rome. He copied this almost literally on a slightly larger scale, modernizing the early style in some degree and widening the room. He succeeded so well that his work, hanging side by side though not connected, with its companion piece in the collection of Gabriel Vendramin at Venice, was considered the work by an older master "Rugiero da Bruges" (obviously meaning Rogier van der Weyden) as early as 1530.<sup>10</sup> Where and when this copy was painted—after the original, as I should like to assume rather than after other painted or drawn replicas—may be determined from a recent documentary find, which I believe important for the understanding of Mabuse's artistic development.

This find concerns the other part of the same diptych, representing St. Anthony standing in a pleasant rocky landscape and recommending to the Virgin a kneeling nobleman, richly dressed, with a big sword at his side, who in the same notes of 1530 on the Vendramin collection is called "M. Antonio Siciliano" (Fig. 6). Until a few years ago we did not know who this gentleman was and we seemed entitled to conclude from his name that he lived in Sicily. We have learned recently from an interesting document, discovered by the Belgian student J. Duverger,<sup>11</sup> much more definite data about him. He served as chamberlain and equerry (*chambellan, escuier*) to

Maximilian Sforza, Duke of Milan (son of Lodovico Moro), and was sent by his patron to Margaret of Austria, governor of the Netherlands, accredited by a warm letter of recommendation dated March 2, 1513. We do not know the business he was entrusted with, but certainly it was a matter concerning Maximilian himself ("pour aucuns mes affaires," he writes). Since the prince had left the court of Margaret, where he had lived as an exile for some years, in order to be reinstated on the throne of his father, only a few months earlier at the end of 1512, the subject in question may have been a personal or even a political concern, since the latter was usually not specified in letters in those times, so precarious for traveling.

From the tenor of Maximilian Sforza's letter we may conclude, as J. Duverger rightly points out, that Antonio Siciliano was not yet known at Margaret's court in Malines. Obviously he was one of the officials whom the prince had taken into his service after his reinstatement at Milan. In Mabuse's charming portrait he is represented as an equerry would appear when undertaking such a journey, with his stable-dog at his side and his white palfrey held by an attendant in the background. The painting therefore must have nothing to do with Italy, and certainly not with Sicily from where, judging by his name, Messer Antonio's family might merely have had its origin. He no doubt ordered this little domestic altar after his arrival from Milan in the Netherlands, where also he would have found the Van Eyck's *Virgin* he wanted reproduced. Most probably this happened in the year of his mission, 1513, a date which is as we shall see, important for the chronology of Mabuse's early works.

Antonio Siciliano seems to have been a wealthy gentleman who, beside his official situation, was interested in art and wished to profit by the opportunity to pursue his own private aims. This comes to the fore in his indubitable connection with another renowned work of Flemish art, the Grimani Breviary. It seems to me, however, unlikely that he actually *ordered* its illumination. Judging from the style of a great part of the miniatures and from the obviously correct statement of Marc Anton Michiel (the *anonimo di Morelli*)<sup>12</sup> that the breviary had been illuminated by many masters over a period of many years, we may rather assume that Messer Antonio found the great work going on when he came to the Low Countries. In any case he acquired it, after having had it finished and his own coat-of-arms inserted into one of its marginal ornaments. Only a few years later, certainly before 1520, he sold it to the Cardinal Domenico Grimani. We do not know whether he had acquired it for his own





Fig. 1. MABUSE, *The Holy Family with St. Catherine,  
St. Magdalen and Angels*  
Hamburg, Wedells Collection

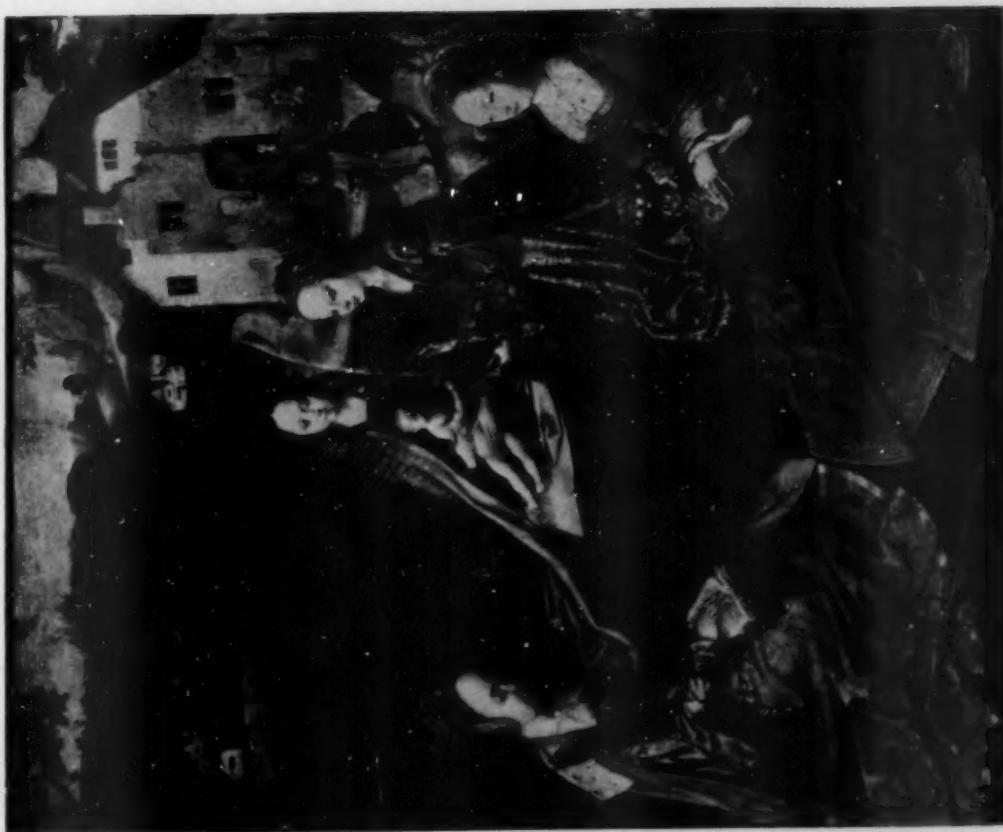


Fig. 2. THE MASTER OF HOOGSTRAETEN  
*Virgin and Child with Female Saints*  
Caen, Museum

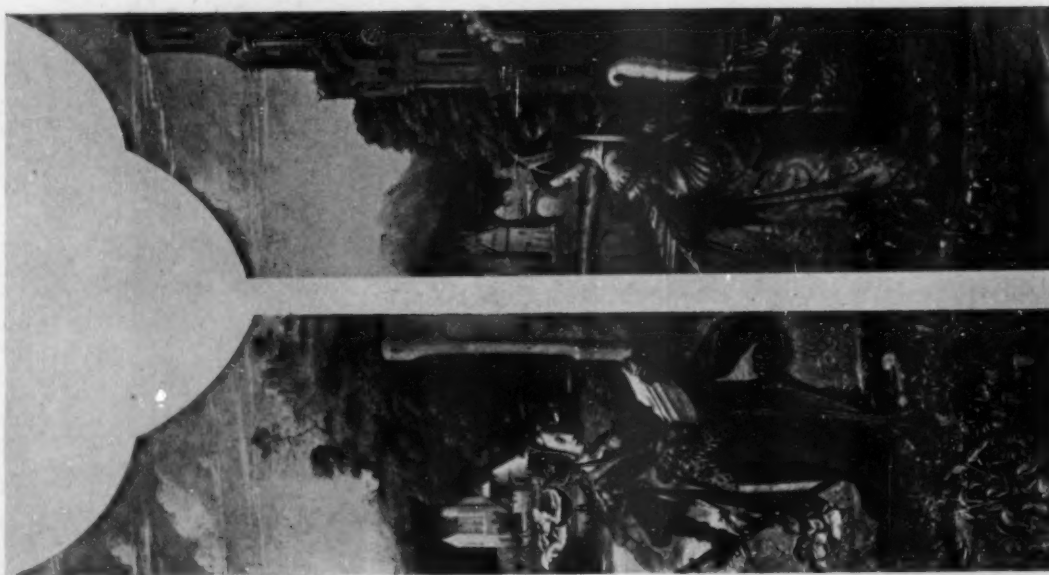


Fig. 3. MABUSE, *Wings of the Lisbon Triptych*:  
St. Catherine and St. Barbara  
Lisbon, Museum



Fig. 4. MASTER OF FRANKFORT, *Wings of the Pannwitz Triptych*:  
St. Catherine and St. Barbara  
Heemstede bei Haarlem, De Hartekamp, Von Pannwitz Coll.

collection or even then intended to make it over to this dignitary, whom he must have known as one of the greatest amateurs of Venice and particularly interested in Northern art.

I cannot think of discussing here the difficult question of the artists who painted the different miniatures of this most celebrated breviary. For our purpose, it is only interesting to know that Mabuse was among them. His participation has not yet been cleared up definitely, but cannot be supposed to have been limited only to the *one* miniature signed distinctly COSAR, representing the *Disputation of St. Barbara*. Since other illuminations also betray Mabuse's early manner and style, I believe it not improbable that he may have been entrusted by Messer Antonio with finishing the illuminations of the prayer-book. A careful investigation of the original in Venice (which I cannot undertake under the actual circumstances) certainly could throw more light upon this rather difficult matter.

But the representation of St. Barbara's disputation betrays close relations to well-known early works by Mabuse. The most conspicuous among these is the so-called *Malvagna Triptych* in the Museum of Palermo (M.J.F., VIII, 19 and 150, no. 2, pl. III-VI). In this work, perhaps the most charming Mabuse ever created, a blend of Bruges and Antwerp elements of style is evident. The types of the heads of the Virgin and the saints Catherine and Dorothea<sup>13</sup> remind us unmistakably of Gerard David, while architecture, ornaments and landscape are not far from the Antwerp Mannerists. The same combination of style is still more obvious in a no less charming replica (Fig. 5) of the center-piece of the triptych which years ago belonged to the collection of the Earl of Northbrook and has since then come on the art market in London.<sup>14</sup> This no doubt is the earlier version of this subject.<sup>15</sup> The composition of the figures is almost exactly the same, though displaying a slightly earlier style. We cannot judge from the head of the Virgin, which a later restorer deemed advisable to embellish, but the infant angels have a decidedly more rigid aspect. In the Palermo picture (in which they are more pleasant) the artist has even corrected a little slip: the angel in the left foreground is pulling the strings of his guitar, as usual, with his *right* hand while in the Northbrook picture he is doing it, obviously by mistake, with the *left* hand. Beside this rectification of a slight error, some pleats of garments and ribbons, rather crinkled in the Northbrook version and so nearer to the style of the Antwerp Mannerists, have been simplified and mitigated in the Palermo picture. The same change may be observed in the quite different architectural and sculp-



tural setting of the Northbrook picture. Here the little statues supported by consoles, like the two angels swinging censers and David and Moses, show close connection with the style of the Antwerp Mannerists and especially with those of Mabuse's early works already mentioned.

So we may see even in the difference of these two excellent versions of the same subject how Mabuse gradually simplified and clarified his style. But nothing else seems to indicate a decided tendency to follow Italian art as late as the Doria diptych, in or about 1513. At this time and even for some years after, Mabuse's style derives almost entirely from the indigenous art of his own country. A very attractive little picture in the New-York Historical Society, attributed to him by Max J. Friedländer,<sup>16</sup> which I should be inclined to date not much earlier than 1513, represents *St. George* on horseback fighting the Dragon (Fig. 7). The prototypes of this composition are found in early Flemish painting. Jan van Eyck himself painted the same subject, as we know from a Catalonian document dated as early as 1444;<sup>17</sup> but since neither the original nor any copy has been found, we cannot imagine what it looked like. Another work of the same period, a tiny and exceedingly delicate picture by the Master of Flémalle (or if we follow modern theories, by Rogier van der Weyden in his early period) in the collection of Lady Eveline Mason, London,<sup>18</sup> may have served, possibly through some intermediate stages, as prototype for Mabuse's conception.

A similar dependence upon the art of his Flemish predecessors has been traced in another larger and more important painting by Mabuse in the Prado Gallery in Madrid (M.J.F., VIII, pp. 45 and 154, no. 19, pl. XXII), representing the half-length life-size figures of the Savior between St. Mary and St. John the Baptist, enclosed with a small angel above, in rich late Gothic architectural surroundings. It is not a copy as has often been said. We have learned how Mabuse could copy from the Virgin of the Doria diptych. But here the artist has been inspired by some of the figures of the Ghent Altar without approaching them as a mere copyist. And he is still following the old great Flemish tradition, although this work must be dated somewhat later than the *Palermo triptych* and must be supposed to have been painted not earlier than 1514 or even 1515.

The same trend toward the indigenous tradition may be observed in two highly original creations by Mabuse which obviously belong to the same period of his career, though at its close: the magnificent *Adoration of the Kings* in the London National Gallery, the only signed painting among his



Fig. 5. MABUSE, *Virgin and Child with Angels*  
Formerly London, Northbrook Collection



Fig. 6. MABUSE, *Right Wing of a Diptych*:  
M. Antonio Siciliano  
Rome, Doria-Panfil Gallery



Fig. 7. MABUSE, *St. George and the Dragon*  
New-York Historical Society



Fig. 8. MABUSE, *St. Jerome (grisaille)*  
New York Art Market



early works, and the *Agony in the Garden* in the Berlin Museum.<sup>19</sup> Very similar in style to the last named nearly monochrome night-piece is a remarkable grisaille representing *St. Jerome* which lately turned up in the possession of Duveen Brothers in New York (Fig. 8), after it had been lost sight of for years. From the shape of this panel (34" x 19½") we might be tempted to conclude that it was originally the exterior of a wing of an altarpiece. But though this usage was still continued in Mabuse's time, it may as well have been an independent painting. The artist seems to have had a certain predilection for showing the excellence of his draftsmanship in grisailles, one of which, a large canvas painted almost without color and representing the *Beheading of St. Jacob*, was mentioned by Van Mander as a distinguished work by the master.<sup>20</sup> In the *St. Jerome* the drawing is indeed most exquisite, as though the artist delighted in rendering not only the figures but the angular pleats of the garments and the extended landscape with its slate-like rocks. The grisaille shares these peculiarities with the Berlin *Agony in the Garden* and consequently must have been painted about the same time. In the figure of *St. Jerome*, Mabuse is still at one with the old tradition. He represented the saint unbearded, as did most of the earlier Flemish painters before Quinten Metsys and Dürer created their bearded types of the same saint, which were to be copied and imitated so often. In the accessories, however, like the lion with his anthropomorphous head and the little scenes in the background representing the lion's services to the saint, Mabuse displays a lively and delicate style quite his own, as he does also in the almost romantic type of the landscape.

After this summary survey of Mabuse's early paintings, I think we have to ask two questions. First, what was his relation to the Antwerp Mannerists: did he initiate their style or merely share it with them? It is not easy to answer this first question. Among all the pictures I have mentioned there is not one which we are entitled to date, for certain, in the years from 1503 to 1507 when Mabuse's activity in Antwerp is proved by documentary evidence; not even the earliest, which we may consider to be the Lisbon triptych. We have to group all the early paintings of the master known up to now around the exact date of the Doria diptych, which has been ascertained by Duverger's find to be as late as 1513. Even the earliest must not be far from this date, so that the whole group of pictures has to be placed in the years 1508-1515. Consequently we have still to look for new discoveries to reveal the real beginnings of Mabuse's career, a task only to be accomplished by a connoisseur of Max J.

Friedländer's ability and ingenuity. As far as we can see now, we may suppose that the roots of Mabuse's art will be found one day in the Bruges school, from where he might have come to Antwerp, possibly accompanying his teacher, who could have been an artist of the caliber of the Master of Hoogstraeten combining the styles of both schools. Since in the paintings of the Antwerp Mannerists we only encounter dates as late as 1513, 1518 or 1519, the possibility cannot be gainsaid that Mabuse may have initiated this artistic movement. But it might as well be assumed that he merely participated in it.

The second question, which may be considered even more important and perhaps more easily answered, would be this: Was Mabuse really, as Guicciardini, Vasari and Van Mander assert, the first Flemish artist who brought to the Low Countries from Italy the right way of treating poetical (that is to say antique) stories, full of nude figures? This assertion has been said to have been proved by the fact that Mabuse was in Italy as early as in 1509. He then accompanied one of his patrons, Philip of Burgundy, who reached Rome as ambassador of Emperor Maximilian I to Pope Julius II on the 14th of January and was back in the Hague on the 28th of June—a short trip, considering the slowness of travel at that time. The task of Mabuse, who does not seem to have stayed in Italy much longer than his patron, was a rather subordinate one. For this bastard prince, who was an enthusiast for humanistic studies, he had to make drawings of the "sacred" monuments of antiquity in Rome. In the eternal city he certainly must have found enough and to spare of this kind of work. Nothing proves that he went to Sicily during this comparatively short stay in Italy, as has been said so often. We have seen that the Doria diptych has nothing to do with Sicily; and we have not the slightest reason to assume that the Palermo triptych was painted in or for this town because it came to the museum as a gift from the Sicilian family of Malvagna. If we really considered this provenance as an argument, we would make the same mistake which formerly led people to suppose that several late paintings by Rubens in Italian museums and collections were works done during the years of the master's Italian sojourn. So Sicily, I believe, has to be crossed definitely out of Mabuse's biography.

What now, we may ask, were the results of Mabuse's studies in Rome? Of all the drawings he must have made of antique monuments for his patron very little has come down to us. A pen drawing of the Colosseum in the Berlin Print Room, rather insignificant and arid, and another of the antique statue of an Apollo then considered as a Hermaphrodite, in the Academy of Venice,<sup>21</sup>

accurately done and reminding us of Mabuse's style only in the pleats of the garment, afford but an inadequate idea of this kind of his work. Nor can any trace of his studies from the antique be discovered in his early paintings, which we have followed up to about 1515. Here, and in some drawings of the same period, the late Gothic style predominates for the most part in the decorative elements. If we find some reminiscences of Italian Renaissance ornaments, they do not look as though their author had studied in Italy nor do they exceed what could have been done then by artists who, like most of the Antwerp Mannerists, had never reached the holy soil. So the gain to Mabuse's art from his sojourn in Italy seems not to have consisted in details or motives. It was of a more general kind. The eminent examples he had seen and studied led him toward a purification and simplification of his style and even to a certain aspiration after greatness which we may recognize in his early paintings like the *Adoration of the Kings* in London. He traveled almost the same road as another greater Northern artist, Dürer, before him. If Mabuse could besides have caught a glimpse of the work which was in progress at the time of his visit on the ceilings and walls of the Vatican, his artistic profit certainly would have been still greater.

From all this we may conclude that the old writers on Flemish art were not quite correct in stating that Mabuse brought his way of treating nude figures *directly* home from Italy. Nothing is known about his having gone south a second time. Nevertheless his later works, after 1515, display a decided tendency toward antique and Italian art, not only in form but also in subject. This change did not take place immediately after his return from Rome, but some years later after he had been some time in his native country. The first work in the new style, is, as far as we can see, the large picture of *Neptune and Amphitrite* in the Berlin Museum (Fig. 9). It is signed in a new, latinized form of his name "Joannes Malbodius" and dated 1516; and was painted by order of his patron, Philip of Burgundy, as is proved by an inscription containing his initials and device. This may not be original, since it is not in an adequate place and does not agree with the calligraphic style of Mabuse's signature, but it most probably reproduces an inscription of the original frame.

It has been assumed with good reason that this painting was originally part of the decoration of the castle of Souburg on the isle of Walcheren, one of Philip of Burgundy's favorite residences. With this assumption the date 1516 agrees strikingly. For we know now from J. Duverger's observations<sup>22</sup> that Philip summoned Jacopo de' Barbari and Mabuse to decorate his castle, not,



as has often been suggested in 1509 but after his return from Denmark late in the year 1515. In his quality of Admiral of the Fleet, he had conducted young Queen Isabella of Austria to Denmark in July, 1515, and had come back in the fall of the same year after a dangerous voyage complicated by rough seas and other difficulties. The theme of the sea-gods in the Berlin picture may have been a kind of remembrance of Philip's achievement in leading the fleet on such an important mission.

We know little about the decoration of the Souburg which Philip entrusted to Jacopo de' Barbari and Mabuse, called "nostrae aetatis Zeuxim et Appelem" by his humanist biographer. It has been assumed that they worked there simultaneously, but this does not seem to me probable. Jacopo de' Barbari, although already old and weak, made a voyage to the isle of Walcheren from Malines, where he had been living since 1510 as the highly esteemed court painter of Margaret of Austria. He is still traceable there in 1513. At Malines this cultured and even learned artist, a great traveler from court to court, had shown his singular many-sidedness. Margaret owned several of his works: portraits, like her own described as exquisite (*fort exquisite*); one of a Portuguese in black and white; a large portrait of an archer with crossbow and a stag's head (this last obviously proving his skill as a still-life painter) which was, strange to say, later joined to a crucifix and two death's-heads and a horse's skull; also a St. Anthony; and no doubt some of his engravings and copper-plates. No antique subjects with nude figures are mentioned among the paintings. In this respect "Master Jacob's book" which Dürer in 1521 saw in Margaret's palace and could not obtain from her since she had promised it to her painter Bernaert van Orley, might have been more interesting. It may have contained theoretical studies as well as drawings and engravings.

What Jacopo de' Barbari did for Philip of Burgundy at Souburg, we do not know. He may have brought there some of his portrait and still-life paintings. A subject like the archer with the stag's head would have suited Philip as well as Margaret, for he seems to have been a great hunter.<sup>23</sup> That he should have furnished the castle with huge paintings like Mabuse's *Neptune and Amphitrite*, cannot be considered very likely. He was in general not a painter on a large scale and he had previously created mythological subjects, as far as we know, only in small pictures or engravings. Aged and infirm as he then was, he must have shunned such an exacting kind of work. Besides, if J. Duverger is right, as I believe, in dating his trip to the isle of Walcheren as late as in the autumn of 1515, he had not much time for work, for he seems

to have died at the latest in the first quarter of the subsequent year, either at Souburg or Malines. But what he might have contributed and what would have been most valuable to Philip, was advice on the subjects for such decorations, a matter on which the learned artist must have been almost inexhaustible. Or perhaps even the book he left to Margaret after his death contained enough material for this purpose.

Considering all this, we must assume that another artist had to be found to execute these decorations. Either on Jacopo de' Barbari's advice or on Philip's own initiative (he was known to both of them) Mabuse was chosen. He was young, active and apt at painting in any size from miniature to large scale. For the proposed classical subjects he was prepared by studies in Rome and he may furthermore have profited by the advice of Barbari, as well as of Philip himself, who was also fond of humanistic studies. So he obviously created a series of mythological scenes, of which his *Neptune and Amphitrite* may have been merely a part. Even in this, the only one which has been preserved, he proves more vigorous and substantial in style than Barbari ever was. He has been accused of borrowing the statue-like posture of the figures from Barbari's or Dürer's engravings, which he certainly must have known. But in ancient sculpture the posture of Neptune's legs (with *Stand und Spielbein*) is so usual and typical that his Roman studies may even account for such a coincidence.

If we try to imagine what the other paintings of the same series for Souburg may have been we may possibly recognize the compositions in small replicas which Mabuse may have painted for various purposes. I am inclined to consider one such a replica to be the attractive little picture *Salmacis and Hermaphroditus*, in the D. G. van Beuningen collection, Rotterdam.<sup>24</sup> This subject, taken from Ovid's *Metamorphoses*, is very unusual, if not unique, and must have suited very well the humanistic trend of Mabuse's patron, perhaps also his somewhat lascivious taste. The artist himself may have been glad to display, in lieu of the severe architectural surroundings of Neptune and Amphitrite, his art as a landscape painter. In a fountain, bordered by rocks, Hermaphroditus and Salmacis are standing, the nymph trying to win Hermaphroditus' love. Did the subject result from the remembrance of the antique statue of which Mabuse made a drawing for Philip in Rome (now in the Academy of Venice)? In any case Philip of Burgundy ordered the picture, since he gave it (adorned by two valuable frames, the inner of marble, the outer one gilt and with an inscription below) as a present to Margaret of Austria, in whose

inventory of 1524 it is unmistakably described.<sup>25</sup> It was a curious gift for the pious princess to whom, about the same time, a still higher dignitary of the church, Pope Julius II, gave a present of relics like two thorns of the Holy Cross. But an antique subject was so much in demand then that it was no less welcome, I suppose.

Whether other small pictures by Mabuse, like *Hercules and Deianeira*,<sup>26</sup> dated 1517, in the collection of the late Sir Herbert Cook in Richmond, also derive from the Souburg decorations, we cannot decide definitely for we know nothing of their extent. But we may suppose that Mabuse was busy with them for some time. Certainly he had already resumed his work for Philip early in 1516. He was at Brussels with him on the occasion of the solemn funeral procession for King Ferdinand of Aragon which took place there on the 13th of March; and in the sketch of a triumphal car entrusted to him, he had, partly on Philip's advice, to use antique motives.<sup>27</sup> He seems already at this time to have been known for his decorative and architectural capacity and was apparently considered an expert in matters of classical antiquity. He was also on good terms with the court of Malines, since he received payment from there in the same year 1516 for two portraits of Margaret's niece Eleonore, the future queen of Portugal and afterwards of France,<sup>28</sup> as well as for other work.

If one compares the two inventories of Margaret's collections of 1516 and of 1524, one realizes how the predilection for classical subjects had increased in these few years. Certainly it was in the air at the time. But Mabuse and Philip of Burgundy may have had a part in its growth. Both had been in Italy. But we must ask, did Mabuse really bring his new style from Italy as the old writers assert? We have seen what he actually gained by his visit to Italy: a kind of general freedom, not any special knowledge of nude human form. He did not, immediately after his return, contrive stories full of nude figures, as Vasari inaptly says, but still followed the Low Countries' tradition both in subjects and in style until about 1515. During this time he seems to have resided in the southern Low Countries, in Antwerp, Bruges or Malines. He undertook compositions with (but not full of) nude figures only on Philip's order for the decorations of Souburg.

Even then we cannot say that he depended upon Italian examples. None of the great Italian masters of that time, not even Michelangelo or Raphael, can justly be said to have influenced him. The rather weak and unsteady art of Jacopo de' Barbari, who had become more international than Italian during his long stay in Northern countries, may have meant something to him. But



we ought not to exaggerate this influence, which was probably only a matter of Jacopo's theories about human proportions. In the art of the Low Countries preceding Mabuse the study of the nude human body was, if we except the subjects of the dead Savior and of the Last Judgment, almost entirely limited to the subject of Adam and Eve. When Mabuse first painted Adam and Eve, he was inspired not by Italian examples but by Dürer, the greatest artist then living in the North. In a picture which came from the Gothisches Haus at Woerlitz into Baron Thyssen's "Foundation Collection Castle Rohoncz," now in Lugano (M. J. F., VIII, pl. XV), Mabuse copied the postures from Dürer's famous engraving, dated 1504, translating the whole into his individual style. On the outside of the wings of the Palermo triptych, he seems again to have been inspired by the great German master's woodcut in the *Small Passion* which came out in 1511, though here it cannot be a question of a mere copy. In his later paintings and drawings of Adam and Eve, however, he freed himself entirely from Dürer's influence and was quite on his own, developing the kind of idealistic style already adopted in the Souburg decorations, which is neither German nor Italian.

Only one of the pictures of the same subject, now in the Castle in Grunewald near Berlin (M.J.F., VIII, pp. 52 and 152, no. 11, pl. XVIII), displays a strikingly different tendency toward a more realistic style. The figures seem to have been studied directly from nature. That of Eve is very small, considering her position in the foreground, though well-shaped, and her features are individual like those of Adam who, with his portrait-like enormous head, shaggy hair and sinewy body, is kneeling and stooping to bite at the apple she hands him. This curious little couple looks as though it were a parody of the theme of Adam and Eve. On the whole it cannot mean a *serious* interpretation of the subject. For us, who are not quite able to comprehend the feelings of the courts of those days, it is a kind of indecent joke. Nevertheless this picture, or at least a similar one, came as a present from King Christian II of Denmark to his aunt by marriage, Margaret of Austria, since it is unmistakably mentioned among the subsequent additions to the inventories of the latter's collection of 1524.<sup>20</sup> According to this, the strange personalities should be considered as the court dwarfs of King Christian II, painted about 1525 or 1526, when Mabuse was working on other portraits for this king.

Returning to subjects taken from classical antiquity we find one which became extremely popular in Northern art at that time, the suicide of the Roman heroine Lucretia. Margaret herself owned in 1524 no less than three works

of this kind, a painted half-length figure by Joos van Cleve, a little statuette carved in wood by Conrad Meit (both of these still preserved in the Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna) and, as the center-piece of a small triptych, a relief "well" carved in wood (possibly reproducing Dürer's medal dated 1508). Most of the Flemish painters of the same period treated the subject. It is most likely that Quinten Metsys did so, though no original from his own hand is known. But we may trace derivations from his style in a number of pictures by his Bruges follower, the so-called Master of Saint Sang, and also in two by Joos van Cleve (one of them mentioned above).<sup>30</sup> The Master of the Female Half-lengths<sup>31</sup> and Peter Coeck (M.J.F., XLV, p. 128) also have left representations of the subject. Even the Antwerp Mannerists, who only rarely painted classical subjects, occasionally used this theme in their own way, sometimes adding in the background small figure scenes from Lucretia's story.<sup>32</sup>

It seems almost a matter of course that Mabuse should have treated the subject of Lucretia's suicide and, in fact, Van Mander mentions a "beautiful Lucretia" by Mabuse in the collection of Melchior Wyntgis, one of Van Mander's patrons to whom he dedicated in 1603 his poem on the theory of painting. Although this man occupied high positions as a financial expert, first as master of the mint of Zeeland in Middelburg and, after Van Mander's death, as councilor and extraordinary master of the chamber of accounts for the Duchy of Luxembourg in Brussels, he seems despite Van Mander's praises to have been a character of doubtful integrity. He was at last, in 1618, imprisoned for embezzlement of public funds and forgery of coins. He had collected a considerable number of old and contemporary works of art, but was obviously not always too scrupulous about their authenticity. Since most of the valuable pictures mentioned by Van Mander as belonging to him do not reappear in the inventory of his collections drawn up a few weeks before his imprisonment, we might be entitled to consider him as what we would call today *amateur-marchand*. Before this inventory of 1618, he must have disposed of Mabuse's *Lucretia* as well as of a picture of the same subject attributed to Dürer, but perhaps only a replica or copy.<sup>33</sup>

Mabuse's picture, however, may have been an original which Wyntgis could well have found in Middelburg, where Mabuse had lived for years. No considerable work of this kind being known today, we might take it for lost. But there is still another possibility. In Wyntgis' inventory of 1618 we find mentioned a picture by Mabuse representing a standing naked figure of a woman,

a *Vanitas vel omnia vanitas*.<sup>34</sup> If we may suppose a slip in Van Mander's memory, he might have remembered this picture as a Lucretia, perhaps confusing it also with that attributed to Dürer. An allegorical figure of *Vanity* (Fig. 11) by Mabuse is still preserved in a picture of the Museum of Rovigo,<sup>35</sup> wrongly interpreted up to now as Venus, which is probably that mentioned in Wyntgis' possession. The attitude of this pretty nude female is not so far from that of a standing Lucretia. Although she holds a mirror instead of a dagger and is surrounded by still-life objects in lieu of a bedstead, Van Mander's mistake seems not impossible, considering also the distance of Middelburg from his Haarlem residence.

I should however not be sorry nor even astonished if my suggestion of Van Mander's error should one day prove unjustified thanks to the discovery of an original, important enough to be considered that of Wyntgis' collection. The only two representations of Lucretia by Mabuse I have been able to find do not display such quality. One of them was in a Viennese private collection some years before the second World War,<sup>36</sup> a small picture representing the Roman heroine, in half-length, almost naked, the background showing a painted arched top (Fig. 10). The style is about the same as that of the much larger *Danae* in the Munich Pinakothek, dated 1527. The composition follows in a way the Flemish tradition, though laying more stress upon the nude body. The painful expression of the head reminds us of Dürer's *Lucretia* which Mabuse might have known from a copy of the medal dated 1508, if not from the drawing of the same year or a copy after the well-known original dated 1518.

For the other representation of Lucretia, Mabuse chose a whole-length type of composition in which he had been preceded not only by Dürer but by Raphael in an impressive drawing known only from Marcantonio's engraving, as well as by other Italian artists like Sodoma and Altobello Melone. This painting by Mabuse is a grisaille originally painted on the reverse of the beautiful *Portrait of a Nobleman* in rich fashionable dress, now in the collection of Mr. Herbert H. Lehman in New York.<sup>37</sup> The grisaille was separated from the portrait when both parts were transferred from wood to canvas and, as far as I understand, the grisaille remained at Kleinberger's in Paris.<sup>38</sup> Here Lucretia is seen giving herself the death-blow, standing, with a bonnet falling on the back of her neck and a chemise only partially covering her body, in front of a small table on which lies the scabbard of her dagger. The date 1534 is inscribed on the table, so the grisaille may serve as a specimen of the artist's last style, since we know that he must have died between 1533 and 1536.<sup>39</sup>



We may ask: why did Mabuse use this subject for the reverse of a male portrait? About the same time Jan van Scorel did the same in a portrait now in the Berlin Museum. Both painters must have had some reason to choose this subject for the reverse. In Italy the name of the Roman heroine had become popular as a first name during the Renaissance movement, and this predilection passed over to the Low Countries, where for instance a maid of honor in Mary of Hungary's service, painted by Bernaert von Orley about the same time (1532-1535), was called *Lucrèce de Cavally*.<sup>40</sup> So we may suggest that the male sitters of Mabuse's and Scorel's portraits wished to have their wives' or sweet-hearts' name alluded to in the painted reverse. So far as I know, Lucretia never was a saint of the Catholic calendar,<sup>41</sup> but she was sometimes contrasted as a great Gentile to Christian and Jewish women like Mary Magdalene and Judith. For the picture of a nude Lucretia, showing a most beautiful female body, Pope Leo X himself copiously rewarded the painter Sodoma, who had offered it to him expressly in order to make himself known to the newly elected head of the church.<sup>42</sup> Lucretia must have been considered, in Catholic circles too, as almost on a par with a saint, and connecting her with the portrait even of a pious man would not have seemed improper or blasphemous at that time.

Mabuse's compositions of antique subjects were limited to one or two figures only (three, if we consider that of Cupid added to those of Mars and Venus). Being the first to introduce the study of the nude into the painting of the Low Countries, he had not yet the skill to represent elaborate stories, such as by this time even old Giovanni Bellini had done in the so-called *Bacchanal* in the Widener collection (which has to be interpreted as the Education of Bacchus). Such story-telling was reserved for a later generation in the Netherlands, that of Marten van Heemskerck and Frans Floris. But the fullest accomplishment was reached only much later by Rubens, the most incomparable narrator in the history of painting.<sup>43</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Carel van Mander, *Het Schilder-boeck*, Haarlem, 1604, Fol 225, rev.

<sup>2</sup> *Die altniederländische Malerei*, VIII, *passim*; XI, 73; XIV, 111 (here subsequently quoted by initials of author: M.J.F., volume, page or plate only).

<sup>3</sup> First discovered by F. Winkler, *Jahrbuch der preussischen Kunstsammlungen*, XLII (1921), 5.

<sup>4</sup> There is a still closer connection to the Caen painting in one of a similar subject in the Lisbon Museum (exhibited in the Jeroen Bosch-Tentoonstelling, Museum Boymans, Rotterdam, July-October, 1936, no. 24 and illustrated plate 44), erroneously attributed to the Dutch Master of the Virgin inter Virgines, but certainly belonging to the school of Bruges. Here we find a similar composition though in an earlier style. Most striking is the perfect identity of the forms and attitude of the very slender naked Infant Christ with an unusually tiny head and of the Virgin's hands, holding Him carefully. No doubt that the painter of the Caen picture had taken as a prototype this Lisbon Virgin and Saints or another Bruges work from which it may possibly derive.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. M.J.F., VII, 100 and 132.

<sup>6</sup> *Op cit.*, VII, 134, no. 111 and Borenius' *Catalogue*, 1921. Reproduced in Arundel Club *Portfolio*, 1913, no. 9.

<sup>1</sup> Exhibited at the Exhibition of Flemish and Belgian Art, London, 1927, no. 215, reproduced in the *Illustrated Souvenir*, p. 70.

<sup>2</sup> M.J.F., VII, 138, no. 130; 139, no. 134, pl. LXXXVII; 137, no. 129, pl. LXXXIV.

<sup>3</sup> The question I have been discussing here might more easily be solved definitely if the center-piece belonging to the Pannwitz wings were found. I do not know myself the replica of the whole triptych in the collection of Dr. Nelson in Liverpool, mentioned by M.J.F., VII, 140, as being in the style of the Master of Frankfort. Perhaps this would throw light upon the question too.

<sup>4</sup> *Notizia d'opere di disegno*, pubblicata e illustrata da D. Jacopo Morelli, seconda edizione per cura di Gustavo Frizzoni, Bologna, 1884, p. 219. The diptych, reproduced by M.J.F., VIII, pls. VII and VIII.

<sup>5</sup> J. Duverger, "Nieuwe gegevens betreffende het Breviarium Grimani," *Annuaire des Musées Royaux des Beaux-Arts de Belgique*, I (1938), 28.

<sup>6</sup> In his *Notizia d'opere di disegno*, p. 201.

<sup>7</sup> Certainly not Barbara, since the dainty, playful turret with angels moving around fountains in the background could not be taken for her usual attribute, the dungeon.

<sup>8</sup> Cf. Burlington Fine Arts Club, Exhibition of Pictures by the Masters of the Netherlandish and allied schools of fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries, London, 1892, *Catalogue*, no. 44. I saw the picture the last time at P. and D. Colnaghi's, London in 1931.

<sup>9</sup> This also is the last opinion of M.J.F., XI, 75 and XIV, 112.

<sup>10</sup> Although I do not know the original picture myself, I should like to agree here too with Dr. Friedländer's opinion (VIII, 31 and 154, no. 21); I am ready to admit that Dr. Julius Held's attribution of this work to the Master of the Antwerp Adoration is not far from the right way. The high quality of the painting however seems to me a conclusive argument for Mabuse's authorship, especially when one compares the same subject represented in one of the wings of the *Antwerp triptych* by that anonymous mannerist (M.J.F., XI, pl. XXV).

<sup>11</sup> Cf. G. Hulin de Loo, "Quelques notes de voyage," *Bulletins de la Classe des Beaux-Arts de l'Académie Royale de Belgique*, Séance du 6 août 1923, nos. 6-9, p. 100.

<sup>12</sup> *Catalogue* of the Exhibition of Flemish and Belgian Art, London, 1927, no. 20 (with illustration in the *Illustrated Souvenir*) and M.J.F., XIV, pl. VI (considerably enlarged reproduction).

<sup>13</sup> M.J.F., VIII, 35 and 152, no. 13, pl. XX. A good replica (panel 86 x 58 cm.) is in the Museum Ferdinandeum at Innsbruck. A very spirited and original little picture of the same subject in the Johnson collection of the Philadelphia Museum (W. R. Valentiner's *Catalogue*, II (1913), no. 382, pl. 259) may be considered a previous stage of such a composition in the style of the Antwerp Mannerists, near to Mabuse's early works (as Valentiner stated) and reminiscent of Jan de Cock in some other respects.

<sup>14</sup> A grisaille representing the *Adoration of the Kings* ("crayonnée seulement de blanc et noir"), perhaps a replica of the London painting, was owned by the Duke Charles de Croy in 1619 (cf. H. Hymans, *Le livre des peintres de Carol van Mander*, Paris, 1884, I, 234, note 2).

<sup>15</sup> Published by M. J. Friedländer in his book *Von Eyck bis Bruegel*, 2nd edition, Berlin, 1921, p. 124, pl. 22.

<sup>16</sup> J. Duverger, *Jacopo de' Barbari en Jan Gossaert by Filips van Bourgondie te Souburg* (1515), *Mélanges Hulin de Loo*, Brussels and Paris, 1931, p. 142 ff., particularly p. 147, note 3.

<sup>17</sup> Philip had accompanied Pope Julius II at his intimate chases in Ostia in February, 1509. Cf. Carl Justi, *Zeitschrift für bildende Kunst*, N.F. VI (1895), 198.

<sup>18</sup> Reproduced in the *Catalogue* of the Jeroen Bosch-Tentoonstelling, Museum Boymans, Rotterdam, 1936, no. 108, pl. 126. Mentioned also by M.J.F., XIV, 112.

<sup>19</sup> "Ung beau tableau auquel est paint ung homme et une femme nuz, estant les piedz en l'eau, le premier borb de mabre, le second doré et en bas ung escripteau, donné par monseigneur d'Utrecht." Léon de Laborde, "Inventaire des tableaux, livres, joyaux et meubles de Marguerite d'Autriche," Paris, 1850 (Extrait de la *Revue Archeologique*, 7<sup>e</sup> année), p. 33, no. 241. Although the name of the painter is not mentioned, the correctness of the identification cannot be doubted, considering the unusual subject which, we do not wonder, was not known to the writer of the inventory. How the obviously lost complicated original frame looked, we may imagine from the analogy of a similar frame which has been preserved with Mabuse's *Venus* in the Schloss collection, Paris (M.J.F., VIII, pl. XXXVIII). Despite his rather secular inclinations Philip of Burgundy had become Archbishop of Utrecht in 1517.

<sup>20</sup> The name Deianeira for the female in this picture seems better than the usually given one of Omphale with whose story the subject does not agree at all. A larger picture of the same or a similar composition is mentioned as "Of Mabeuse, Hercules and Deianira" in Sir Peter Lely's collection (1682), *The Burlington Magazine*, LXXXII (1943), 187.

<sup>21</sup> Cf. J. Duverger, *Jacopo de' Barbari* . . . , p. 150.

<sup>22</sup> Cf. Charles Moeller, *Eléonore d'Autriche et de Bourgogne*, Paris, 1895, p. 97. One of those portraits obviously is that in the August Berg collection, Portland, Oregon (M.J.F., VIII, 39 and 163, no. 74, pl. LIII).

<sup>23</sup> "Ung grant tableau d'ung nain et une nayne, nuz, tenant une pomme, le champ du dit tabeau bleu et verd donné par le roy de Dannemarque a Madame." Inventory of April 17, 1524, published in *Jahrbuch der Kunsthistorischen Sammlungen des Kaiserhauses*, III, p. CXIX, no. 878. "Item delivré audit gardejoyaux, depuis cest inventoire fait, la pourtraicture des nayn et nayne du Roy de Dannemarque faicte par Jehann de Maubeuge, fort bien fait." Inventory of July 9, 1524, published by Comte de Laborde (quoted in note 62), p. 16, no. 14.

<sup>24</sup> Cf. M.J.F., IX, 154, nos. 214-217 and 139, nos. 68 and 69.

<sup>25</sup> M.J.F., XII, 176, nos. 110-112. The pretty picture of the Colonna Gallery, Rome, wrongly attributed to Mabuse, is reproduced in A. F. Mirande & G. S. Overdiep, *Het Schilder-boek van Carel van Mander*, Amsterdam, 1936, p. 209.

<sup>28</sup> A good example was in the Arnold Skutezky collection in Brno, Moravia, now probably in the museum of the same town.

<sup>29</sup> This picture has justly been stated not to be identical with the well-known picture of the Munich Pinakothek which according to the catalogue was in the Bavarian collections as early as 1598. Wyntgis owned in 1618 some other works presumed to be by Dürer, among them some sculptures, the authenticity of which certainly has to be doubted.

<sup>30</sup> "Een staende naekte vrouwen figure, een *Vanitas vel omnia vanitas*, geschildert by Mabeuze." H. Hymans, *Oeuvres* II, Brussels, 1920, p. 744.

<sup>31</sup> First mentioned and reproduced by F. Winkler, *Die altniederländische Malerei*, Berlin, 1924, p. 242. See also M.J.F., VIII, 158, no. 45, pl. XXXIX.

<sup>32</sup> I cannot say for certain whether it is the same picture that appeared in a Lepke sale, Berlin, March 15, 1935 (40 x 35 cm.), according to M.J.F., XIV, 112.

<sup>33</sup> Reproduced in Harry G. Sperling's *Catalogue of a Loan Exhibition of Flemish Primitives*, F. Kleinberger Galleries, New York, 1929, no. 29. Cf. also M.J.F., VIII, 161, no. 60.

<sup>34</sup> Reproduced in the *Catalogue of the Ch.-Léon Cardon Sale*, Brussels, June, 1921.

<sup>35</sup> The same late date 1534 I found only in one other work by Mabuse, a portrait of a man, holding a carnation (panel 41 x 31 cm.), which I saw in 1936 at E. & A. Silberman's in Vienna.

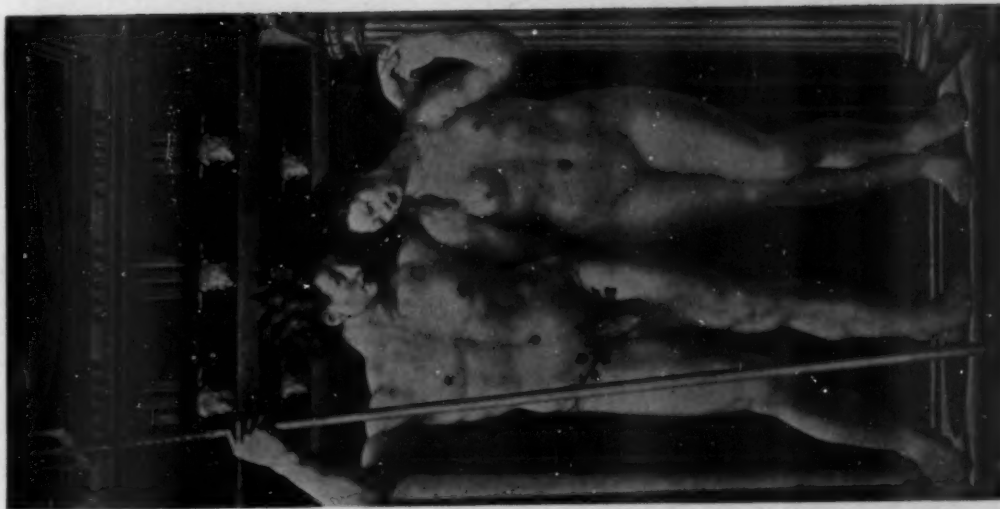
<sup>36</sup> Cf. A. Pinchart, *Revue universelle des arts*, III, Brussels, 1856, 142 and 143.

<sup>37</sup> If the inscription S. LUCRETIA in the picture of a saint by Dosso Dossi in the National Gallery of Art in Washington, D. C. (reproduced in the *Book of Illustrations*, p. 99, no. 481) should be genuine, which I am inclined to doubt, a saint of this name ought to have been created at the court of Ferrara especially in honor of Lucrezia Borgia. Lotto did not think of such a canonization in his portrait of a lady pointing at a drawing of Lucretia's suicide in the London National Gallery (from the Holford collection).

<sup>38</sup> Vasari in the *visa* of Sodoma. This is another picture than that of Lucretia, with her father and husband, mentioned by Vasari too and referred to by Jacob Burckhardt, *Beiträge zur Kunstgeschichte von Italien*, Gesamtausgabe XII, Berlin & Leipzig, 1930, p. 412.

<sup>39</sup> In writing this article I am gratefully indebted to my friend Dr. Hans Tietze for providing me with some information not easily obtained in my retirement in the West of this country.

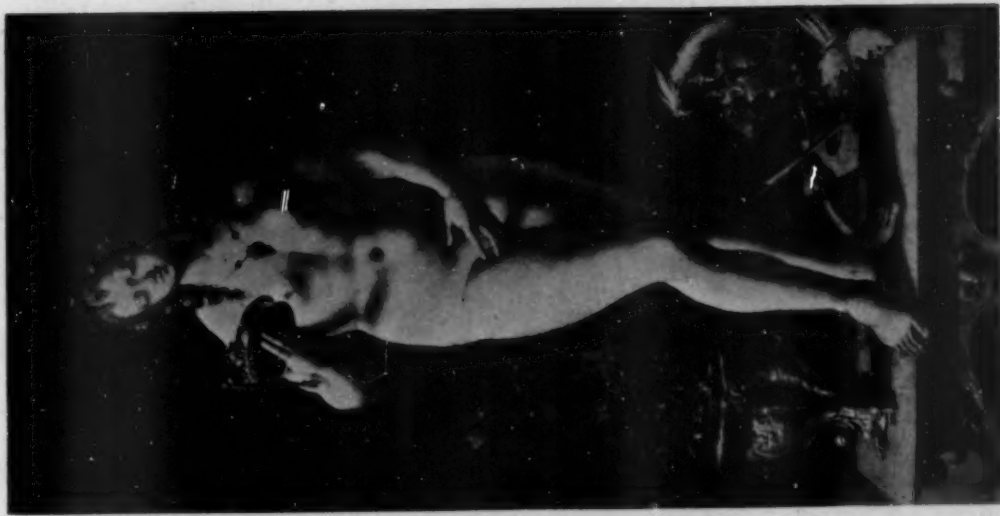




*Fig. 9. MABUSE, Neptune and Amphitrite  
Berlin, Kaiser Friedrich Museum*



*Fig. 10. MABUSE, Lucretia  
Vienna, Private Collection*



*Fig. 11. MABUSE, Vanity  
Rovigo, Museum*



*Fig. 1. ASHER B. DURAND, Delaware Water Gap (engraving after  
his own Painting for American Landscape, 1830)*



*Fig. 2. ASHER B. DURAND, View of Rutland, Vermont  
Detroit Institute of Arts*

## ASHER B. DURAND, PIONEER AMERICAN LANDSCAPE PAINTER

By FREDERICK A. SWEET

LANDSCAPE painting, which had been something of a novelty in America before 1825, came into its own in the second quarter of the nineteenth century. During these years the United States became acutely conscious of herself and took great pride in the unspoiled beauties of the countryside. Patronage, without which no artist can survive, was sufficiently in evidence by the late twenties that an artist could hope for subsistence from something besides portraiture. At first, collectors fancied matter-of-fact renderings of their own country seats or topographical views of their own cities and surroundings. From these they developed an interest in landscape painting for its own sake. Familiarity was no longer a prerequisite when the artist broke away from maplike delineations and developed a true painting style rich in color and compelling in mood.

A few of our portrait and historical painters had occasionally done a landscape during the opening years of the century, but these were seen by few and attracted little notice. They are important, though, in showing the beginning of an interest in nature. Washington Allston was the most significant figure in the early days of American landscape but, being ahead of his time, exerted little influence. Most of his landscapes were done abroad and had a symbolic or literary content which was far removed from any associations with America. Allston is of the utmost importance, however, as he was the first American artist to fall wholeheartedly under the spell of the romantic movement which had been gradually permeating both literature and the arts in England since the 1720's. This many-sided and far-reaching movement advocated among other things the study of nature in its unspoiled state and took great interest in its formidable aspects as well as in the picturesque side.

During his lifetime Allston's fame rested on his large religious canvases, but his romantic scenes had little influence on the younger artists of the day. It remained for each man to go out and discover the forces of nature for himself and to interpret them according to his temperament as well as according to his technical abilities.

By the mid-twenties a start had been made by a few painters who were primarily interested in portraying out-of-doors scenes so that we may consider a landscape school to be under way. School is here used in the broadest sense



to mean that these artists were painting similar subjects with the same general point of view. They were not organized in any way, had no formal master-pupil relationship, and had no headquarters. In later years these early landscapists came to be called the White Mountain School or Hudson River School: terms which have no clearly defined limitations and, if used at all, must be given the broadest meaning.

Three names stand out as the principal figures of this early landscape group, and their variations within a fairly set formula determined the stylistic trend until after the Civil War. Thomas Doughty, Thomas Cole, and Asher B. Durand may be regarded as the leaders in what was really our first native school of painting. Doughty, born in 1793, was the oldest of the group and also the first to become established as a landscape painter. In 1822 he exhibited for the first time in the Pennsylvania Academy, but he is listed as a landscape painter in the Philadelphia directory as early as 1820. He worked on a small scale in a somewhat hesitant manner, but painted the unspoiled American countryside in a simple poetic manner comparable to the nature poems of William Cullen Bryant. Although development in his style can easily be discerned, he did not expand beyond a fairly limited concept.

Thomas Cole was born in England in 1801 but came to this country at the age of seventeen. In spite of various youthful attempts at painting, he can scarcely be considered to be of professional status before 1824 when he showed his first landscape at the Pennsylvania Academy. He obviously considered his own endeavors to be modest indeed, for he remarked that he felt very humble before Doughty's work, eight of whose canvases were shown that year. In 1825 Cole moved to New York and soon became established as a landscape painter, with the little town of Catskill up the Hudson as his center of operation. He was a gifted painter and a highly imaginative one, and was not afraid to try anything, especially after gaining greater confidence from travel abroad. With equal enthusiasm he painted an idyllic summer landscape, a stormy weather-beaten mountainside, or a purely imaginative scene illustrating an allegorical subject. He was highly religious and delighted in showing man's helplessness before the all-powerful forces of nature. Though his imaginative faculties add greatly to the significance of his work, the result was somewhat marred when the moral was pointed too sharply. Allegory was not America's forte.

Asher Brown Durand, the third artist of the early landscape men, differed widely from either of the other two. He was the last to take up landscape painting; on the other hand he had the soundest training of any of the three.

A delicate child, he was born the eighth of eleven children on August 21, 1796, in the hamlet of Jefferson Village, New Jersey, now part of Maplewood. His mother, Rachel Meyer Post, a widow, was of Dutch extraction while his father, John Durand, was of a French Huguenot family which had come to Connecticut in the seventeenth century and moved to Jersey shortly before John Durand's birth in 1745. John, aside from running his own farm, was a watchmaker and silversmith and was described as a "universal mechanic." Handy with delicate tools, he made his own if he could not find any to suit him. As there were enough older children to help with the farm, the less robust Asher was permitted to assist his father. Engraving copper plates was to him the most interesting part of the work. So great was his skill that he was apprenticed at the age of sixteen to Peter Maverick, a prominent New York writing engraver, who had a residence a few miles away in the vicinity of Newark. He began his apprenticeship in October, 1812, and showed such ability that he soon became the chief assistant. In 1817 Maverick made him his partner. Durand's reputation grew fast and the soundness of his technical skill was recognized by John Trumbull who in 1820 engaged him to do an engraving of his picture the *Declaration of Independence*. The ambitious performance took three years but it established Durand as the leading engraver of the country. Maverick, jealous of the preference shown his former pupil, dissolved the partnership, so Durand set up shop for himself. Banknote engraving occupied him a good deal at this time and resulted in his forming a partnership in 1824 with his brother Cyrus, a clever mechanic, who had invented machines to facilitate printing. This partnership lasted until 1833, though Asher engraved banknote vignettes until 1839. This was of course only one of his occupations for he was busy with a variety of activities.

He was much in demand to do engravings for Annuals and Gift Books, the popular compendiums of sentimental stories and poems, moralizing, and recipes, which were presented to ladies on birthdays and anniversaries. Portrait engravings of notable people and illustrations for novels such as Cooper's *The Spy* and Mrs. Radcliffe's *The Italian* also occupied his time.

Although Durand was primarily an engraver during the early part of his career, his interest in sketching and painting started long before he took up landscape painting as a major preoccupation. As early as 1817, when he was a partner of Maverick, he attended classes occasionally at the American Academy of Fine Arts. It was through this activity that he met John Trumbull, president of the organization, and secured the commission to engrave the *Declaration*

of *Independence*. From sketching casts at the Academy he acquired the ability to do the classical figures which were a prominent feature of his banknote designs.

In 1825 Durand was one of the group which organized the Sketch Club and New York Drawing Association. They met in the evening to draw from casts and to further interest in the arts. From this group the Century Club later developed and also from its numbers came the thirty men who founded the National Academy of Design in 1826. Durand was vitally interested in the new Academy and was in fact its president from 1845-1861. He attended sketch classes there, also taught engraving, and was represented in their exhibitions constantly from the first in 1826. In 1827 he showed some engravings and portraits as well as a *Landscape* (No. 25), indicating that he was already beginning to work in the field which ten years later was to be his main interest. Portraiture, nevertheless, took up a good deal of his time, more from necessity than from any great interest in this form of art. From 1837 on he exhibited landscapes in considerable numbers but he had showed at least eight during the previous decade. Since most of them are entitled *Landscape* or *Landscape Composition*, it is impossible to identify them, but two have specific titles which indicate them to have been among those which he engraved in 1830 for *The American Landscape*. This was started as a serial publication (though only one issue ever appeared) containing engravings after landscape paintings by native painters and text by William Cullen Bryant. Durand engraved six views, two after W. J. Bennett, one after Robert Weir, one after Thomas Cole, and two from his own paintings, *Catskill Mountains* and *Delaware Water Gap* (Fig. 1), both of which he exhibited at the National Academy, one in 1831 and the other in 1832.

During Durand's early years in New York he frequently took advantage of an easy access to the open country by going to the Elysian Fields near Hoboken, New Jersey. There he did careful oil studies direct from nature, having prepared his palette at home, and brought along a portable easel and camp stool (Figs. 4 and 5). Durand was undoubtedly the first to inaugurate this practice of painting out-of-doors and the character of his work was very much determined by it. Cole and others made pencil sketches in the open but did their paintings in the studio.

An important factor in causing Durand to abandon engraving in favor of painting was the patronage of Luman Reed, a New York merchant who was one of the first enthusiastic supporters of American art. Durand felt the limi-



tations of the engraving technique and had experimented with oils certainly before he was thirty, but, having had no instruction, he was loath to abandon a fairly lucrative career in favor of an uncertain one until he had received sufficient encouragement. His family responsibilities were increasing as he was married for the second time in 1834, his first wife, Lucy Baldwin, having died in 1830, nine years after their marriage. Mary Frank, the second wife, lived until 1857. Luman Reed first commissioned Durand to do portraits in 1834 and in the course of the next two years acquired several paintings from him. Cole and Mount were also among those whose work interested him. Reed installed these pictures in a specially constructed gallery on the third floor of his new house in Greenwich Street. His untimely death on June 7, 1836, deprived American artists of their most important patron.

By now Durand was firmly established as a portrait painter and was enabled more and more to indulge in his favorite preoccupation of landscape painting. Though he had exhibited landscapes from time to time at the National Academy ever since 1827, they occupy a leading place in his exhibitions after 1837. He was active over the period of the next thirty years, but in 1869 left New York to return to Maplewood where he lived more or less in retirement until his death at the age of ninety, September 17, 1886.

While Luman Reed's early death was a blow to those painters whom he favored, it is fortunate that his younger partner, Jonathan Sturges, also had an interest in art. It was largely through his assistance that Durand was enabled to go to Europe in 1840. He sailed June 1 on the *British Queen* with his artist friends, Casilear, Kensett, and Rossiter. Interested as Durand was in seeing the old masters in European galleries, as a man already forty-three years old he had set ideas about painting and was distinctly limited in his praise. He admired Rubens, Murillo, Van Dyck, and Rembrandt; had a good word for Salvator Rosa, but was somewhat disappointed in Claude Lorrain until he reached Italy and saw the examples of his work there. Of contemporary British art he said, "I observe only in a few works expression and character, while correctness in drawing, solidity, finish—naturalness, in short, I look for in vain." He thought Turner sloppy and that he exaggerated.

In Paris he admired the ability of the French artists to paint figures. After a brief visit he continued on to Switzerland, which impressed him greatly, then went to Italy for the winter. His own comments best sum up his impressions: "I wish to continue in Europe as long as it shall be pleasant, for the benefits it will yield me as a landscape painter—for that object no country in the world

can equal it!" He preferred, however, the American countryside and was ready to go home, remarking that the "rocks, trees, and green meadows of Hoboken will have a charm which all Switzerland cannot boast."

In *The Crayon* for January 17, 1855, he commented further:

Although much has been done, and well done, by the gifted Cole and others, much more remains to do. Go not abroad then in search of material for the exercise of your pencil, while the virgin charms of our native land have claims on your deepest affections . . . Why should not the American landscape painter, in accordance with the principle of self-government, boldly originate a high and independent style, based on his native resources?

He greatly preferred the conformation of the landscape in America where he had observed the details of the countryside with such care. Surely no one was better equipped to paint the American scene, for his many paintings made out-of-doors had served to familiarize him with every aspect of nature. This he felt was the most important training for any artist. In refusing a young man who wanted to be his pupil he said: "Go first to Nature to learn to paint landscape, and when you have learned to imitate her, you may then study the pictures of great artists with benefit." Durand certainly lived up to this advice himself for we find his oil sketches made direct from nature turning up all through his career. He deplores the conventional altering of nature, and in *The Crayon* for January 3, 1855, wrote:

The fresh green of summer must be muddled with brown; the pure blue of the clear sky, and the palpitating azure of distant mountains, deadened with lifeless grey, while the grey unsheltered rocks must be warmed up and clothed with lichens of their forest brethren—tricks of impasto, or transparency without character—vacant breadth, and unmitigated darkness—fine qualities of color without local meaning, and many other perversions of truth are made objects of artistic study, to the death of all true feeling for Art, — and all this under the name of improvements on Nature!

As we are concerned here primarily with his landscapes, there is no need to go further into the details of his work as an engraver, but the fact that he had sound training in the technique of engraving has great bearing on his performance as a painter. He learned to be a thorough craftsman, a careful observer, and a meticulous workman. This training influenced not only his painting methods but also his painting style. The sketch classes at the American Academy were important in teaching him the drawing of figures which sometimes appear in his paintings, and also helped him in the classical details which he used in his occasional ventures with allegorical themes. Needless to say his facility as a portrait painter was also enhanced by this training.

His own direct observation of nature was to a considerable extent responsible for the formation of his landscape style and the reason his pictures look so "modern" is because they are so naturally observed. They are unique in their period and antedate by many years anything else of the sort. Durand really painted what he saw whereas other artists translated what they saw into terms which were a modification of the traditional baroque formula. The division of a picture into foreground, middle ground, and distance, with some large enframing motif prominent in the foreground, is a familiar pattern. Had Durand confined himself to direct nature studies the analysis of his work would be greatly simplified, but as most of his more ambitious canvases were composed in the studio and inevitably tended to veer from the observed scene toward the more traditional form of composition, we must consider where the rising American school in general and Durand in particular derived their style. Durand's technical ability and well-trained eye enabled him to execute honest and competent portraits but are not sufficient to account for his conception of landscape.

It will be well to consider what sources were open to an artist in America in the twenties and thirties in order that we may determine how a man like Durand happened to paint the way he did. With the profusion of illustrated magazines available to us today, one might think that reproductions of European paintings would have been published in the periodicals current in Durand's youth. A survey of *The Rover*, *Ladies' Magazine*, *Ladies' Companion*, *Family Magazine*, *Casket*, and *Dollar Magazine*, leading publications of the thirties and forties, reveals that there were very few illustrations, and that most of what there was consisted of crude engravings illustrating sentimental stories. Occasionally they included a fairly good engraving printed from plates imported from England. *Infancy* by Sir Thomas Lawrence appeared in *Casket* for October, 1834, and may be taken as typical of the kind of European painting which might infrequently be found in periodicals of this time.

Gift Books and Annuals were a little richer in their illustrations. The first of these to be published in America was the *Atlantic Souvenir* which started in 1826 in imitation of similar English books. We find in the 1827 number an engraving after a romantic painting of Lake Albano, and *The Amethyst* for 1831 featured a lithograph of Loch Lomond. These were obviously taken from English paintings, but the editors did not bother to note the names of the artists. Such reproductions were either printed from plates imported from England or were pirated copies engraved here from illustrations found in



English books. In 1833 *The Token and Atlantic Souvenir* (now combined) published among others an engraving after a Lawrence portrait and a Horace Vernet landscape. Here was a good source for European compositions. In the preface the publishers remarked that they "have made great exertions to procure suitable embellishments," but went on to apologize for using imported plates:

It is a subject of regret to them [the publishers] that they have been unable to obtain a larger number of original designs for their engravings. The extreme difficulty of procuring such as are appropriate must be their apology. The original subjects in the present volume are thought to possess great merit, and will add to the fame of the artists, to whom they have been indebted for them. As to the other engravings, they believe that the great beauty of many of them will compensate for the fact that they are from designs of European origin.

Although the *Annuals* offered a few reproductions of European landscape paintings which our artists undoubtedly observed, this was not a major source of their knowledge of the art of the old world. Since both Doughty and Durand also contributed to the *Annuals* almost from their beginning, they no doubt had great interest in comparing their own modest work with that of more notable European artists. Durand did an engraving after a composition by Gilbert Stuart Newton for the 1828 *Atlantic Souvenir*. In the *Ladies' Companion* for 1835 he engraved one of his own landscapes, *Catskill Mountains*.

Knowledge of European art was of course obtained from a study of imported paintings, but the amount of material available was distinctly limited. More often than not the "old masters" which reached these shores were copies. Neither dealers nor collectors had much knowledge of such matters and indeed less stress was laid on "original" works of art in those days. A copy was considered highly desirable and had a value only relatively less than a picture actually by the master.

Several European landscape paintings were owned in America before 1840 which could have afforded our artists possible sources of knowledge of the European style. William H. Vernon of Norport, Rhode Island, owned four Salvator Rosas and a Vernet. These were exhibited at the Boston Athenaeum in 1830, then the collection was sold in 1835. Robert Gilmore of Baltimore, who was an early patron of American painters, owned a Salvator, as did Mrs. R. W. Meade of Washington, and Joseph Bonaparte of Bordentown, New Jersey, owned four Vernets.

In 1830 Mr. Richard Abraham showed his collection of old masters at the American Academy of Fine Arts. An account of the event in the *New York Mirror* for April 3 describes a Ruysdael and a Claude Lorrain as "two glorious landscapes." The same paper in its issue for April 2, 1831, reviews another group of old masters shown at the Arcade Baths. Though it is called the best group since Mr. Abraham's, the paper is a little wary of great names for it lists a canvas "attributed to Velasquez" and another "said to be by Guido." Salvator Rosa is also in the group.

On January 12, 1833, the *Mirror* ran a notice of Thomas Cole's recent return from Italy and remarked that he was showing in his exhibition rooms several "new and delightful pictures by himself. . . . At Mr. Cole's rooms also are two original paintings by Salvator."

European paintings also came up at Aaron Levy's auction rooms and could be purchased at Peabody and Company and at Michael Paff's popular art shop at the Astor House. Paff was the greatest art enthusiast of the trade, but much of his merchandise was not what it purported to be. Whether he duped an uninformed public or was too ignorant himself to know the difference cannot be fully determined. Probably both are true.

Durand and his fellow artists had, then, some opportunity of studying the baroque and romantic landscapists of Europe. They were sufficiently keen students of art to be aware of the great tradition in painting and quite naturally attempted to follow some of the basic formulas of the past. Though Salvator Rosa seems to have been the most prominent landscape master seen in early American collections, the majority of paintings and prints sold by dealers were English and came from London; and certainly a far greater number of prints was available than paintings. Engravings after well-known paintings were sold in large numbers and afforded an easy way to study the compositions of great European masters. Durand, who began as an engraver, expressed his delight in the wares of the New York print shops. Here is to be found a source of his style, probably a more potent factor than the paintings that he saw.

Finally, a strong force influencing his early style was the group of men both here and in England who made colored lithographs of towns and familiar scenes. These topographical views were sold here in quantity from the early part of the century. In addition to many prints imported from London, a good supply was available in America. William Birch had come over in 1794 and his thirty views of Philadelphia were published by 1800. W. J. Bennett arrived from England in 1816, William G. Wall in 1818; these and many others were

active in painting carefully delineated views of towns and their surroundings often shown with sufficient in the way of trees and a setting to give them the character of a true landscape. Durand as an engraver was greatly interested in these "views" and shows the influence of them in his earlier style.

Again we quote the *New York Mirror* (May 18, 1833) for a contemporary estimate of his work shown in the National Academy exhibition: "This gentleman [Durand], not content with being universally acknowledged the first line-engraver in this country, is treading close upon the heels of the first portrait painters." Further comments on the same exhibition in the June 8 issue were made in regard to Durand's landscape, *Boonton Falls*:

We have already protested against the monopolizing spirit of our engraver when we noticed his portraits, but not content with portraiture, he is emulating the landscape-painters in their best efforts. We believe, however, we must admit that in this free country he may move which way he pleases; and that he may scratch the face of his fellow-citizens on copper, or smooth them on canvas—transfer the works of others to the harder material by his burin, or the beauties of nature from New Jersey to New York.

It would seem that, despite his other accomplishments, Durand was already recognized as a distinguished landscapist by 1833. This was still only a minor part of his output and we have to wait until the late thirties for him to abandon engraving, cut down on portraits, and devote his major efforts to landscape. No. 174 in the catalogue of the 1840 exhibition at the National Academy was *Landscape View of Rutland, Vermont*, which was not for sale. This is presumably the picture now owned by the Detroit Institute of Arts (Fig. 2) which was a commission and would, therefore, not be listed as for sale when exhibited. This landscape with its pale yellow-greens, carefully delineated foreground with decorative trees and figures, contrasting middle distance and mountains in far distance, recalls both in color and in its rather rigid format the work of the topographical painters. Painted probably about 1838 this canvas has much the same characteristics as a scene such as the *View near Hudson* from the *Hudson River Portfolio*, an engraving by J. Hill after William Wall, published about 1825 (Fig. 3). Here the flowers, grasses and shrubs in the foreground are indicated in minute detail with sharp silhouette and the rocks have a knife-like edge. Only in the background is there anything approaching a painterly handling of the scene with some indication of atmosphere. Aesthetically these prints do not have a great deal to recommend them, but may in one sense be regarded as the best manifestation of commercial art of their day. While the emotional impact is scarcely a consideration, these





Fig. 3. WILLIAM WALL (engraving by J. Hill, Hudson River  
Portfolio) Art Institute of Chicago



Fig. 4. ASHER B. DURAND, Study from Nature  
New-York Historical Society



Fig. 5. ASHER B. DURAND, Study from Nature  
New-York Historical Society



*Fig. 6. ASHER B. DURAND, *The Evening of Life*  
New York, National Academy of Design*



*Fig. 7. THOMAS COLE, *The Return*  
Washington, D. C., Corcoran Gallery of Art*

portfolios of views had great charm and made a wide appeal as an elegantly contrived travel folder or souvenir of a scenic trip. These prints were widely circulated and inevitably influenced our rising landscape painters. The tightness of the painting of Rutland and its lack of robust color, as well as the minutiae in the foreground, indicate it as the work of a man who is primarily an engraver. Although he has observed an actual scene, he has cast it in the terms he most easily understood and has approached painting by way of the topographical engraver.

Presently Durand broke away from the rigidity of the burin and blossomed forth as a full-fledged landscape painter. His major effort at this period was to prove something of a false note as he ventured into fields which he was temperamentally unsuited to explore. In 1840 Frederick J. Betts of Newburgh, New York, commissioned him to do two large allegorical canvases for his house. They were entitled *Morning of Life* and *Evening of Life* (Fig. 6) and symbolized youth and old age. In the first of the pair is a shepherd and his family in a luxuriant landscape, sheep on a bridge and a classical temple in the distance. The other shows the shepherd as an old man seated amidst the ruins of the temple, while in a grove of trees in the background is a Gothic cathedral. Durand had obviously tried to follow in the footsteps of Thomas Cole, who was then the acknowledged leader of American landscape painting. In 1837 Cole had painted two large canvases for William van Rensselaer of Albany. These were called *The Departure* and *The Return* (Fig. 7) or *Morning* and *Evening* and depict in the first canvas armored knights setting forth on spirited horses at the break of day; beyond them is a bridge and a feudal castle. *The Return* shows the wearied knights coming slowly toward a Gothic cathedral at the end of the day. Though Durand varied the theme, the source is apparent and his cathedral is practically Cole's shorn of some of its towers. He has followed Cole not only in subject but in color. Yellow-green and golden-brown predominate and the canvases appear bursting with the glow of artificial sunshine. Durand knew Cole well and had of course been impressed by his paintings done in Italy and by the *Course of Empire*, the great allegorical sequence of five paintings which had been the sensation of the age when Cole finished it in the fall of 1836, shortly after the death of Luman Reed who had commissioned it.

Durand showed considerable proficiency in the large luxuriant trees, in the careful treatment of foreground detail and he achieved a certain grandeur in the sweep of the scenes, but the color is forced and the mood is false. He was



too matter-of-fact a person to intrude into either a classical or a medieval setting. When his *Morning and Evening* were exhibited at the National Academy in 1840, the *New York Mirror*, always a useful source of contemporary criticism, had the following comments to make in their July 18 issue:

His *Morning and Evening*, lately finished, and now exhibiting at the National Academy, are his greatest works. They abound in many beauties and some faults. In the first place, the idea is too much like Cole's *Departure and Return* to be original. He initiated very successfully the coloring of Cole and tried, though without success, to use his pencil. The contrast between them is not sufficiently great, for it takes some time to decide which is *Morning* and which is *Evening*. The large group of trees in the first are admirable, excepting that they are a little too top-heavy. Those in the second could not be improved. Durand does not paint a good middle distance because his foregrounds are too *light* and highly finished. In themselves they are perfect. It was customary with Claude to throw over his foregrounds a dark mass of shadow, and it is this which adds to the beauty of his perspectives. If Durand devotes his attention to landscape painting alone, and studies nature more, he will eventually become a first-rate artist in this interesting branch.

Durand must have realized that he had made a mistake in attempting to be an allegorical painter, for he did not attempt it again. Later he even condemned this type of painting (*The Crayon*, January 31, 1855):

I appeal with due respect from the judgment of those who have yielded their noblest energies to the fascinations of the *picturesque*, giving preference to scenes in which man supplants his Creator, whether in the gorgeous city of domes and palaces, or in the mouldering ruins that testify of his "ever fading glory," beautiful indeed, and not without their moral, but do they not belong more to the tourist and historian than to that of the true landscape artist?

In the forties we note a development in his style towards a more diffused light effect and better integrated color. The hardness of the engraver technique disappears and the aspect of the topographical view is replaced by more solid and richly painted scenes. His *View in the Catskills* of 1844 (Fig. 8) shows a more natural atmospheric effect, an easier transition from the foreground to the background, and a departure from light yellow-greens to a deeper tonality. The composition has become more fully realized and is less of a set piece. He has a broader and more realistic vision than Doughty and was more restrained and less fanciful than Cole in his approach to nature.

His trip to Europe did not result in any slavish attempt to ape either English mannerisms or the traditional baroque style of Italy. His most grandiose canvases, *Morning and Evening of Life* were painted before he went abroad.

While abroad he was severe in his criticism of European artists, and, much as he admired the scenery, he longed for the fields of New Jersey and appreciated the American countryside more than ever. Durand realized from all he saw in Europe that landscapes did not have to be expressed in the limited terms of the lithograph view nor was it necessary to heighten the drama of the scene as Cole so often did. In Italy he was much impressed by Claude Lorrain from a technical angle, though Durand would not have reacted especially to the romantic overtones. This no doubt had something to do with his habit during the forties of introducing an atmospheric effect into an otherwise straightforward representation of a scene. His *Imaginary Landscape* of 1850 (Fig. 9) is enveloped in a golden glow which seems a natural part of this well-organized canvas. Contrary to his usual practice, he has put a castle on top of a crag in the background and to the right is a Gothic church. Under the distant trees a burial service is going on in an old cemetery. These romantic touches are so subordinated to the grander aspects of the landscape that, far from striking a false note, they add to the effectiveness like the "fabricks" in a picture by Claude. Durand has successfully assimilated the mannerisms of baroque landscape painting. In the ten years which had elapsed since the painting of the *Allegories*, he had learned a great deal about the use of color as well as about the organization of a canvas. The earlier pictures are effective decorations but they are stage sets.

His reaction to Claude was expressed in *The Crayon* for May 2, 1855:

All that has made Claude preëminent, is truthfulness of representation in his light and atmosphere, and moving waters—if other portions of his work were equally *true*, he would be still greater. And why have the nobler compositions of Gaspar Poussin only given him an inferior rank, but because they lack in corresponding truthfulness. I might instance hundreds of others, ancient and modern, who owe their reputation to the degree of representative and imitative truth which distinguishes their works. Closing the list with the name of Turner, who has gathered from the previously unexplored sky alone, transcripts of Nature, whose mingled beauty of form and chiaroscuro have immortalized him, for the sole reason that he has therein approached nearer to the representation of the infinity of Nature than all that have gone before him.

In the fifties Durand again changed his style. His fondness for making studies direct from nature resulted in a more realistic treatment of landscape. The yellow-green tonality gives way to rich blue-greens. His work lost a certain poetic charm but on the other hand gained from the fresh crisp handling and the sense of being in the presence of an actual scene. *Catskill Mountains near*

*Shandaken* (Fig. 10) is a good example of Durand's nature studies and was probably painted in 1853, the year that he made several studies in this part of the Catskills. Though he may very possibly have introduced the dead tree trunks from sketches made elsewhere, the scene as a whole was certainly painted on the spot. Despite the clarity of detail in this picture there is no feeling of the fussiness that we noted in his early work. Trees and foliage are carefully rendered when it seems necessary, but every flower and blade of grass are not indicated in the foreground. His *Monument Mountain, Berkshires* (Fig. 11) fits this same category and must also have been done in the fifties. Again we note the blue hills and rich blue-green foliage, and the natural, forthright rendering.

Durand's important period as a landscape painter was the forties and fifties. We see his development from an engraver to a painter, being influenced first by color lithograph views, then by Cole. His unique habit of painting out-of-doors drew him back to a very natural approach which for a time was combined with reminiscences of Claude Lorrain and the traditional baroque formula. He later casts this off in favor of a completely direct and realistic treatment. This seems to be what he was striving for all along. In his late period his work tends to become hard and very matter-of-fact. Then in the late sixties he retired to New Jersey and did very little in the way of painting during his last years.

It is interesting to note the point of view about landscape painting expressed by educators towards the end of the Civil War. At a meeting of the Trustees of Vassar College held on February 23, 1864, the Reverend Elias L. Magoon, a collector and Chairman of the Committee on the Art Gallery, made a report which included some rather remarkable comments. After a dissertation on the meaning of art which he defines as "petrified poetry or concrete rhetoric," he goes on to recommend that the college should acquire a hundred oil paintings, some to be examples from European countries, "But at least sixty must be first-rate transcripts of American landscape, mainly along the Hudson, Lake George, New Hampshire, and Vermont." He continues, "Then at least another hundred water color pictures would be required. First, because, out of America, that is the best art intrinsically, and for female culture, it is the best everywhere." Vassar was certainly an ardent admirer of the native scene and gave her full share of patronage to the landscape painters of the day.

Durand is perhaps most significant to us today as he was able to free himself from the sentimentality of his own time and followed a new direction which was neither quaint nor dramatic but was distinguished for its simple realistic





*Fig. 8. ASHER B. DURAND, **View in the Catskills**  
Boston, Museum of Fine Arts*



*Fig. 9. ASHER B. DURAND, **Imaginary Landscape**  
New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art*



*Fig. 10. ASHER B. DURAND, Catskill Mountains near Shandaken  
New York Art Market*



*Fig. 11. ASHER B. DURAND, Monument Mountain, Berkshires  
Detroit Institute of Arts*

approach. He learned by experimentation and profited by his experience as an engraver—an experience which made him both well disciplined and keenly observant. With no precedent to follow, since a school of landscape had never existed on this side of the Atlantic, and with scant knowledge of the great traditions of Europe, Durand proceeded with complete innocence and unbounded enthusiasm to develop his own concept of landscape painting. He had courage and persistence with the result that he evolved something quite fresh and original. He had the deepest possible feeling for nature and was faithful and painstaking in putting down what he saw. In *The Crayon* for June 6, 1855, he said: "It appears to be sheer folly to talk about too close imitation of Nature, in any object or appearance eligible and worthy for the highest or humblest purposes of Art, or of too servile reliance on the continuous practical study of them." He went on to say one must be *selective* in the imitation of nature, as all things are not of equal value.

It is unjust to call him prosaic merely because he did not make every rock a forbidding cliff, every brook a raging torrent, and every path a lovers' lane. Neither sensationalism nor false sentiment appealed to him. He admired the silent beauty of the forest, but did not require a redskin lurking behind every tree to make it convincing. His attitude toward nature is like that of Henry Thoreau, although his writings could scarcely have had a formative influence on Durand since *Walden* was not published until 1854. William Cullen Bryant, however, was a friend of the early landscape painters and shared their enthusiasm for nature. G. M. James wrote a series of articles in *The Crayon*, "The Landscape Element in American Poetry," in which he commented especially on the relationship with Bryant: "From *The Fountain* [1842], a poem filled with illustrative points, and which Durand has based some of his finest pictures on, I take a passage of exceeding beauty to my mind:

"This tangled thicket on the bank above  
Thy basin, how thy waters keep it green!  
For thou dost feed the roots of the wild-vine  
That trails all over it, and to the twigs  
Ties fast her clusters. There the spice-bush lifts  
Her leafy lances; the viburnum there,  
Paler of foliage, to the sun holds up  
Her circlet of green berries. In and out  
The chipping-sparrow, in her coat of brown,  
Steals silently lest I should mark her nest.' "

Our painters inevitably read British novels and poetry which were reprinted here in quantity since there was no international copyright law to prevent it.



And by way of England came most of our knowledge of German nature philosophy. All this helped to maintain the romantic mood since worship of natural beauty and respect for the vagaries of nature were an essential part of both literature and philosophy. In Germany shortly after 1800 a school of romantic landscape painters also developed. Though it would be of great interest to be able to prove a connection between this group and our own painters, there was no possible contact between them. To be sure Rome was an international center for artists and in the Roman colony were several German painters such as Koch whom our artists certainly met. But Koch's style did not apparently appeal to American artists; while Caspar David Friedrich, who might conceivably have been a forceful influence, never went to Italy, so that the possibility of German influence becomes very slim. It is more probable that the German and American artists had similar views of nature which resulted in artistic expressions which were to some extent parallel.

England on the other hand furnished most of the elements that influenced the American painters. From London came engravings after well-known canvases, and England was responsible for popularizing the topographical view. With these few hints our painters managed to evolve a type of landscape which was characteristically American. The most completely native in his natural form of expression and deep felt love of nature was Asher B. Durand.

RECENT IMPORTANT  
ACQUISITIONS  
OF AMERICAN COLLECTIONS



JACQUES LOUIS DAVID, *La Citoyenne Cronzet* (31½" x 25")  
*The Cleveland Museum of Art*

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## THE RECENT ACQUISITIONS

### A PORTRAIT BY JACQUES LOUIS DAVID

From an article by Henry S. Francis in the *Bulletin of The Cleveland Museum of Art*, June, 1945.

In 1942 Mrs. Grace Rainey Rogers presented to the Cleveland Museum one of the most munificent gifts in its history—the room by Rousseau de la Rottière, containing eighteenth-century furniture and sculpture of the highest quality; at her death in 1943, the Museum was generously remembered in her will. In view of these circumstances, the Trustees felt the appropriateness of acquiring, as a purchase from the fund left by Mrs. Rogers, important works of art offered at the sale of her residuary collection.

Among the objects in Mrs. Roger's Collection was an unusually fine portrait by the Frenchman Jacques Louis David (1748-1825) of *La Citoyenne Cronzet*. Painted about 1795, the portrait remained in the family of the sitter through the nineteenth century, but was finally sold by her descendant, Madame Bourotte, of Versailles.

Typical of David's work in the last years of the eighteenth century, before the Empire of Napoleon, it calls to mind the *Mlle. Charlotte du Val d'Ognes* in the Metropolitan Museum, New York, or the *Portrait of a Young Girl in White* in the Chester Dale Collection. These early portraits of David are distinguished by the directness and simple approach of the neoclassic style during the Directoire Period. Later, during the First Empire, David painted similar portraits which are, however, less personal and slightly tinged with an artificial elegance. This movement grew out of the classical Louis XVI style set in motion by the excavations in 1748 and furthered by the Comte de Caylus and others, who grew enthusiastic over this regeneration of Greece and Rome. Fortified by the researches of Winckelmann and others, the new movement did not at first effect a complete break with the traditional eighteenth-century style, but only brought about an assimilation of new motifs. After the Revolution, however, in the Directoire and First Empire Periods, the neoclassic became a distinct style, with David as its leader.

Born in 1748, the son of a draper, David received his early training at the hands of Boucher and of Vien, the historical painter, with whom he went to Rome, where he became imbued with interest in the classical. Returning to Paris in 1780, he later married Mlle. Pécoul, an heiress. When the French Revolution came in 1789, he flung himself into political life, serving with partisan zeal and signing the death decree of Louis XVI. He became a deputy to the convention and remained all-powerful as a Revolutionist until the death of Robespierre in 1794. Then, for a time, he served a prison sentence. In 1797 he met Napoleon and was subsequently made "premier peintre de l'Empereur" and became the creator of the epic of Napoleon. After the fall of the Empire, his position declined. In 1816 he took refuge in Brussels, where he died in exile in 1825.

The sitter in this new Museum David may perhaps be Mlle. Sophie Crouzet. The picture provides an interesting pendant to the early portrait by Ingres in the Museum Collection.

### THE WHITE TABLECLOTH BY CHARDIN

From an article by Frederick A. Sweet in the *Bulletin of The Art Institute of Chicago*, April-May, 1945.

Chardin, the great eighteenth century French painter of still-life and scenes from everyday life, is of the utmost importance not only for the distinguished place he held in his own century, but also because of the echoes of his style which can be seen in the works of Manet and other men of the nineteenth century.

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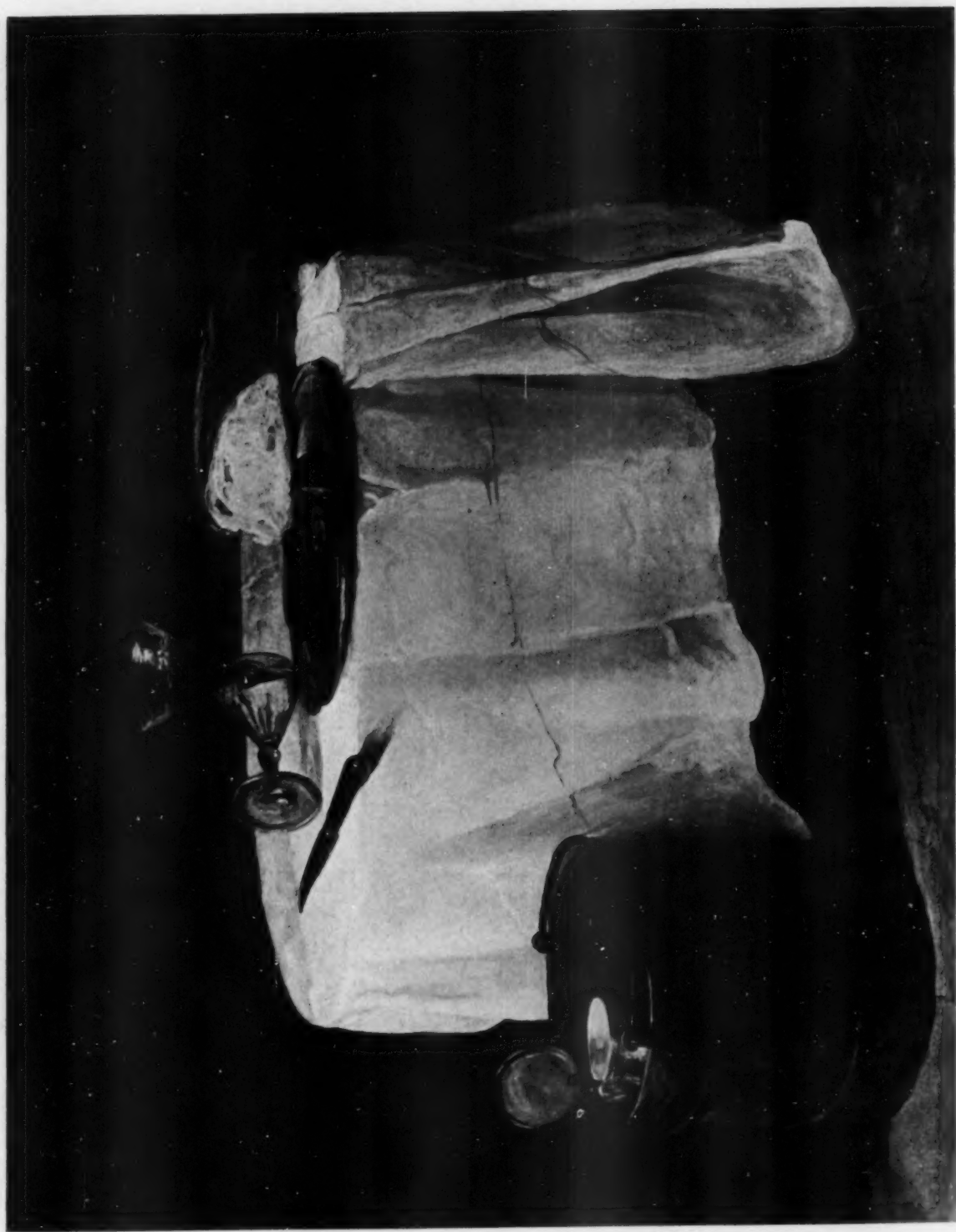
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JEAN BAPTISTE CHARDIN, *The White Tablecloth* (38" x 48 3/4")  
*The Art Institute of Chicago*

The Art Institute has recently purchased Chardin's early still-life, *The White Tablecloth*, for the Mr. and Mrs. Lewis Larned Coburn collection. The picture was formerly in the collection of David-Weill, the great French connoisseur of eighteenth century paintings, and about 1850 belonged to the painter Alexandre Decamps.

Jean-Baptiste Siméon Chardin was born in Paris, November 2, 1699. His father was a cabinetmaker specializing in billiard tables which he constructed for the King and noble families of France. As Jean showed no liking for his father's trade but evinced marked talent for drawing, he was permitted to enter the studio of Pierre Jacques Cazes. Chardin did not remain long under this master as he felt that he was not being given the opportunities which he required. Shortly after leaving Cazes' studio he was employed by Noël Nicholas Coppel, whose facility with still-life instilled in Chardin a reverence for trivial objects and taught him that the placing or arrangement of such objects made them important regardless of their seeming insignificance. Chardin learned this valuable lesson young and therein lies the basis of his brilliant handling of still-life compositions.

Chardin developed his interest in the work of Dutch painters not from any of his French masters but from the half-Dutch portrait painter, Jacques André Joseph Aved, with whom he shared a studio. Aved was brought up in Holland, came to Paris in 1722, and soon after that became associated with Chardin on whom he exerted a strong influence.

One day while they were at work in their studio, a woman came to ask Aved to paint her portrait and offered him four hundred *livres*. She left without having completed the arrangements since Aved considered the offer much too little. Chardin, however, insisted that he should not neglect this opportunity as he felt that four hundred *livres* was a good price for an artist who was only fairly well known. Aved replied that this sum

would be sufficient if a portrait were as easy to paint as a sausage. This remark was directed toward the platter of sausage contained in the still-life on which Chardin was then working. This picture, which is the Art Institute painting, was a *devant de cheminée*, that is, a chimney-board or fire-board used to close a fireplace when not in use. To fit the usual ogee curve of a Louis XV mantel, the top of the picture was mounted to conform. Though the picture is now on an oblong stretcher, the marks of the original curved form of the top are discernible in a strong side light. Because of this quip on the part of Aved, Chardin is supposed to have given up still-life for a time in favor of figure compositions.

While Chardin has much in common with Dutch painters both in the choice of subject matter and in the arrangement of the diverse elements of a composition, his method of execution is entirely different. He is more subtle in his use of color, more sensitive in the handling of light, and imparts to the surface of his canvases a kind of mottled texture which produces more of an atmospheric effect than is usual in the matter-of-fact products of the Dutch school. His palette is extremely simple, being limited to earth colors such as raw and burnt umber, burnt sienna, and earth red which he combines with black and with lead white. In *The White Tablecloth* the colors are muted and deftly integrated—the tablecloth itself seems sparkling white but is actually a combination of a variety of off-white tones subtly blended with grays and yellowish tints. The background of rich brown in the lower part of the picture blending into greenish-gray tones above is calculated to act as a foil for the tablecloth and the objects placed on it. Only the red tones of the sausage, the wine, and the knife handle are brilliant color accents introduced. Texture plays a very significant part, for Chardin is unequalled in rendering the crusty quality of the loaf of bread, the brittleness of the glasses, or the crisp folds of the linen

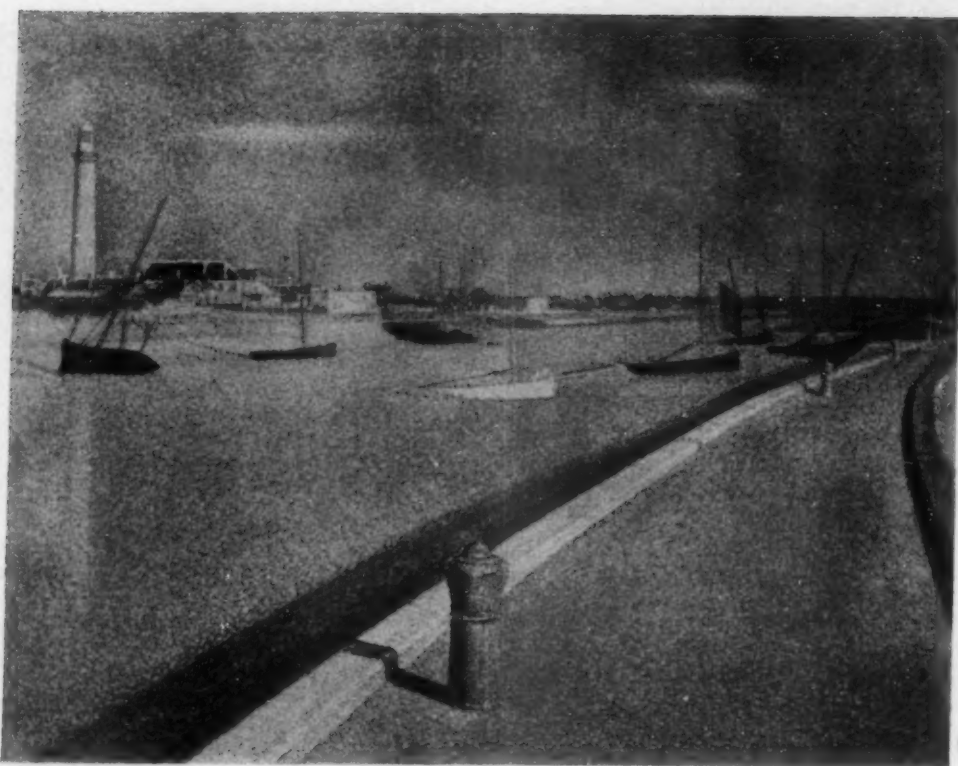
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GEORGES SEURAT, *Le Port de Gravelines*  
Indianapolis, The John Herron Art Institute



PAUL CÉZANNE, *La Maison en Provence: La Ste Victoire, Beaurecueil*  
Indianapolis, The John Herron Art Institute

tablecloth. He has the rare ability of being able to indicate the way these objects look in the particular setting in which the observer finds them, rather than indicating the way one might think they ought to look. Therein lies the difference between the Dutch painters, who gave an intellectual and literal rendering of objects on the basis of the way they knew they looked, and Chardin, who gave an impression of objects as they looked to him under certain conditions of light. Indicating the appearance of objects rather than a literal rendering of every detail was an advanced step for the eighteenth century and foreshadowed the atmospheric effects of Manet and Fantin-Latour a century or more later.

Chardin died in 1779 after a painful illness. Methodical, devout, and conscientious, he was at the same time greatly troubled by his own personal problems. The fact that his paintings had been acclaimed from the beginning of his career up until the time of his death did not compensate for disappointments arising from other aspects of his life such as his son's failure. Keen perception and great sensitivity were basic qualities which made his painting outstanding; these same qualities also resulted in his over-estimating minor difficulties.

## TWO RECENTLY ACQUIRED PAINTINGS IN THE JOHN HERRON ART INSTITUTE

Two important examples of the great masters of Post-Impressionism were recently presented to the Art Association of Indianapolis by an anonymous donor in memory of Daniel W. and Elizabeth C. Marmon: *Le Port de Gravelines* by Georges Seurat and *La Maison en Provence: La Ste Victoire, Beaucueil*, by Paul Cézanne.

The period between 1878-1887, according to Dr. Venturi, was Cézanne's "Constructive" period. It was during these years that he broke away from the Impressionists' exclusive preoccupation with the evanescent effects of light and looked for the solid, permanent form beneath the surface. *La Maison en Provence* was painted about 1885, toward the end of this "constructive" period and is considered by Venturi to be one of Cézanne's masterpieces.

In the intense green of the foreground stands a house with yellow-orange roof and walls of a clear bluish-yellow. The soil is orange and the vegetation a green-blue. In the distance rises the blue mountain with reflections of yellow, green and violet. The sky is a very clear blue. "A perfect expression of the constructive ideas of Cézanne" (L. Venturi, *Cézanne*, Paris, 1936, I, 158).

*Le Port de Gravelines*, by Georges Seurat, was painted in 1890 when the sea again attracted him in the summer months. Gravelines is a small town on the channel, just a little south of Dunkerque, and Seurat went there to observe the strange atmospheres that float between land and sea: fogs, winds, twilights and salt air.

The picture shows a quai stretching across the canvas from the left foreground to the extreme right. To the left of the quai the inlet is seen, with the town beyond stretching across the picture just above the center with a tall lighthouse at the extreme left. Small sailing craft are to be seen moored at intervals in the inlet. The whole is done in very pale tones, forming a composition which combines geometric precision and clarity with the most delicate nuances of color.

Four views of the port were shown at the exhibition of the *Indépendents* in March, 1891, just a few days before his untimely death at the age of thirty-one. The picture was formerly in the collection of D. W. T. Cargill, of Lanark, Scotland, and

was lent by him to the Commemorative Exhibition of French Art at Burlington House, London, in 1932 (no. 513).

## THE LADY'S LAST STAKE BY WILLIAM HOGARTH

Adopted from the catalogue, *English Paintings*, Albright Art Gallery, 1945

Through the great generosity of the family of the late Mr. Seymour H. Knox, Sr., namely Mrs. Marjorie Knox Campbell, Mrs. Dorothy Knox Rogers and Mr. Seymour H. Knox, Jr., President of The Buffalo Fine Arts Academy, the Albright Art Gallery of Buffalo, New York, has purchased five notable examples of English painting by Hogarth, Reynolds, Gainsborough, Romney and Lawrence. Among these five paintings, all formerly in the J. Pierpont Morgan collection, perhaps the most notable is William Hogarth's *The Lady's Last Stake*.

Hogarth throughout his life attacked all kinds of folly and vice, including marriages of convenience, cruelty and gambling. The consequences of the latter vice, indulged in by both sexes to an excessive degree during Georgian times, is the subject of *The Lady's Last Stake*. Speaking of the picture Hogarth tells us: "When I was making arrangements to confine myself entirely to my graver, an amiable nobleman (Lord Charlemont) requested that before I bade final adieu to the pencil, I would paint him one picture. The subject to be my own choice, and the reward whatever I demanded. The story I pitched upon was a young and virtuous married lady, who by playing at cards with an officer, loses her money, watch and jewels; the moment when he offers them back in return for her honour, and she is wavering at his suit, was my point of time."

This picture, painted in 1759 for Lord Charlemont, an Irish nobleman, is described in great detail by F. G. Stephens (*A Century of British Art*, exhibition catalogue, London, 1888, pp. 25-27):

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WILLIAM HOGARTH, *The Lady's Last Stake* (41½" x 36")  
*Buffalo, The Albright Art Gallery*

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"An interior with two small whole-length figures: the lady, seated near a fire, her left hand resting on a small fire-screen, in an amber satin dress cut low and with short sleeves enriched with lace, white muslin ruffle round the neck, brown hair set with pearls; the officer, in military dress of the period, standing behind a card-table and close by her side, and having won all her ornaments and money at cards, is offering back these articles, gathered in his hat, as the price of her virtue and fidelity to her husband; in the hat are her necklace, her husband's miniature set with diamonds, a note of £500, and many gold coins. The nearly burnt-out candles attached to a picture over the fireplace attest how long the pair have been gambling. The subject of this picture, a gloomy moon-lit seascape, including a ship ashore and the faded flowers standing in vases on the mantel-shelf, convey the artist's 'moral.' The clock is surmounted by a figure of Time as a child flying and holding a scythe; below this is written NUNC; some of the cards used by the gamblers have been cast into the fire, and on the floor lies an open letter from the lady's absent husband, beginning 'My dear Charlotte,' and stating that he had sent her the half of a £500 note. The scene is the interior of a room, painted, it is believed, from a chamber in Hogarth's then country box at Chiswick, which, although now (1888), owing to constant neglect and rough usage, rapidly going to wreck, still exists; the room in question is not, however, so large as represented in the painting. The time, indicated by a clock on the mantel-piece of the room and the fullness of dawn on the clouds seen through the uncurtained window, is five minutes to five on a bright morning."

Miss Hester Lynch Salusbury, afterwards the famous Mrs. Thrale of Samuel Johnson's circle, and still later Mrs. Piozzi, claimed to have sat for the lady in this picture. In a letter to Sir James Fellowes, Oct. 30, 1815 (Piozzi's *Autobiography*, vol. 2, p. 130), she says: "The next time we went to Leicester

Fields Mr. Hogarth was painting, and bid me sit to him. 'And now look here,' he said, 'I am doing this for you. You are not fourteen years old yet, I think, but you will be twenty-four, and this portrait will then be like you. 'Tis the lady's last stake. . . .'"

The author of the catalogue of *Pictures in the Collection of J. Pierpont Morgan*, W. Roberts, referring to this letter, says: "As Mrs. Piozzi was born January, 1741, she would have been eighteen in 1759; as the picture was painted on commission, and as she told an entirely different story to a correspondent of the *Gentleman's Magazine*, in which she said that Hogarth made a sketch of her one evening in the house of an uncle, it is probable that neither version is correct." It seems fair to add, in this connection, that Mrs. Piozzi was 74 when she wrote the above letter to Sir James Fellowes. Her memory was probably not able to recall with exactness an incident that happened to her in her teens. However, there appears to be no reason to doubt that in some essentials the connection between Mrs. Piozzi or Mrs. Thrale and the lady of our picture is established.

#### VIEW OF DRESDEN BY BERNARDO BELLOTTO

From an article by Charles Nagel, Jr. in the *Bulletin of the City Art Museum*, St. Louis, November, 1944.

In the Museum's recently acquired *View of Dresden* by Bellotto we have a superlative landscape painting which is not only a detailed and accurate document but as well a distinguished work of art. It would indeed be hard to imagine a better or more appealing likeness of that great German city which has been so well beloved all over the world by generations of those who delight in music and the arts.

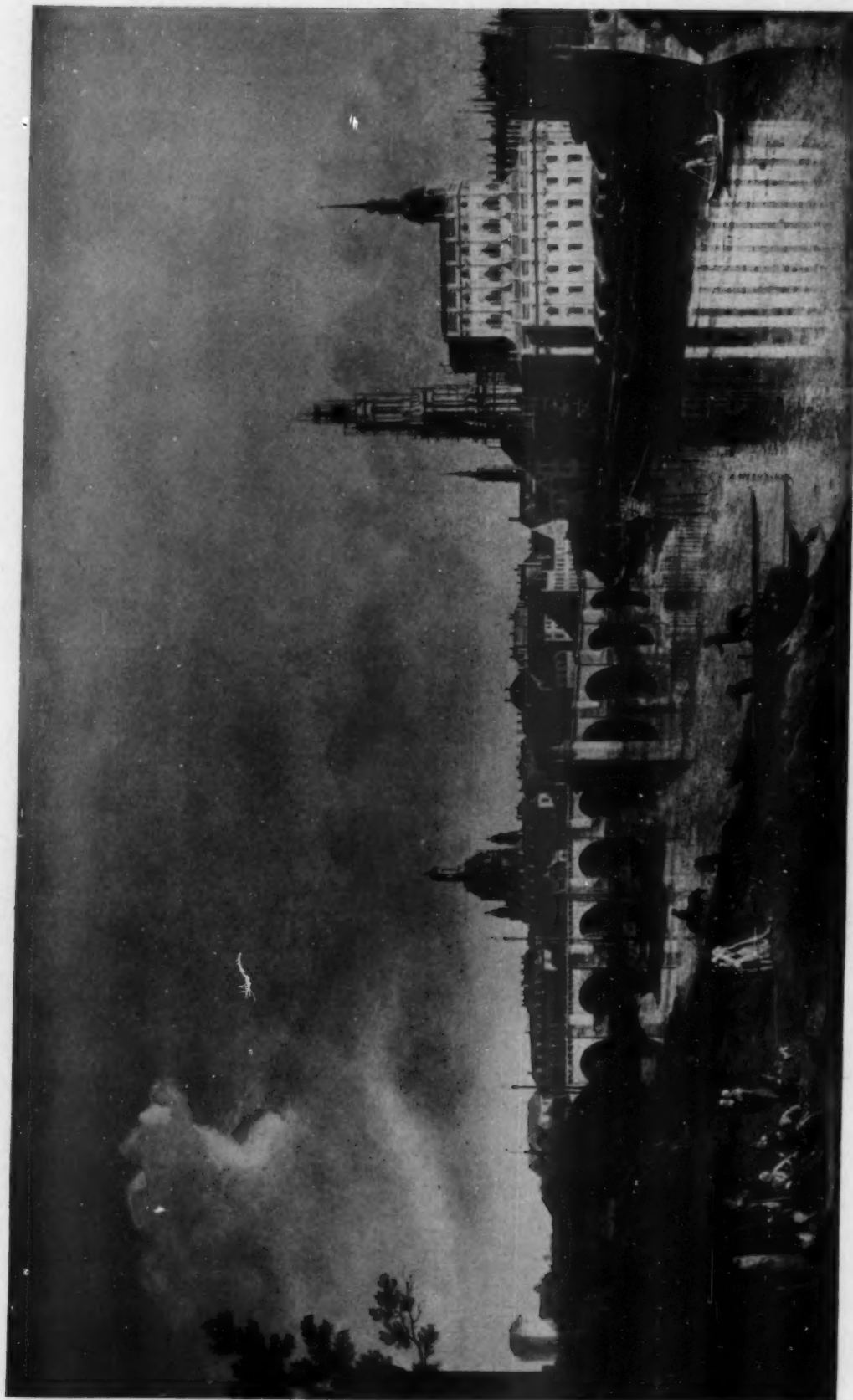
Bernardo Bellotto (1720-1780) was born, grew up and had his training as a painter in Venice during the mid-eighteenth century, a period when the art of Europe was developing along

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BERNARDO BELLOTTO, *View of Dresden*  
St. Louis, City Art Museum

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lines of unsurpassed elegance and beauty. His uncle and master was Antonio Canale, and to the teachings of his instructor Bellotto responded with such flattering application that by 1740 he was even beginning to be called "Canaletto," the name by which Canale himself had come to be known. Possibly this particular "past-mastership" was a teaching triumph difficult for Canale to contemplate with an altogether easy mind. In any event, Bellotto was advised by his uncle to remove himself abroad where he could develop independently a career of his own and, acting on this advice, he left Venice and spent some years wandering in northern Italy where he is known to have visited the great cities of Rome, Florence, Padua and Verona. In 1745 he progressed to Munich and shortly thereafter came to the attention of the Elector Frederick Augustus II of Saxony who in 1747 summoned him to Dresden where, save for a brief interlude in Vienna in 1750, Bellotto worked as Court Painter until 1766. During that time he evidently applied himself diligently to his painting for he produced an impressive number of canvases which succeeded in capturing with a sort of nostalgic exactitude the charms of the ancient capital of Saxony and its environs.

So accurate were these portraits of Dresden that it becomes a fascinating study to try to place the undated paintings, of which our canvas is one, in point of time by assembling the known facts covering the architectural development of Dresden and those of Bellotto's own life there. On the right of our painting appears the famous Katholische Hofkirche, in the center the newly widened Augustus Brücke, and behind this extends the Brühl'sche Terrasse up to the Belvedere on the extreme left of the picture. In the center above the buildings bordering the Terrasse rise the great dome and the cupola of the Frauenkirche or Church of Our Lady.

In the Dresden State Gallery of Paintings are some thirty odd canvases by Bellotto, three of them almost identical in subject matter with the Museum's and its companion piece, others showing the same structures but from different points of view. One painting dated 1747, the year of the artist's arrival in Dresden, shows the upper part of the tower of the Hofkirche incomplete. Another almost identical canvas dated also 1747 shows the tower completed and already free of its scaffold. Another view similar to our own and dated 1748 shows the tower completed but enclosed in scaffolding. Still other views show the completed tower with and without scaffolding so that possibly Bellotto included or omitted the lacy enclosure of the scaffolding according to the dictates of his or his royal patron's fancy. The Belvedere shown on the extreme left of our canvas is known to have been erected not earlier than 1751, by which time the tower scaffolding might surely be supposed to be down, although the Hofkirche was not entirely completed until 1756.

One explanation of these apparently conflicting elements of architectural history is that Bellotto, with his uncanny feeling for topography and the use of what historians refer to somewhat vaguely as "certain optical instruments," may have simply sketched in the yet unbuilt Belvedere in order to show his royal master just how the completed building would appear upon the Dresden skyline. Since the companion piece to our painting is inscribed

"BERNARDO BELLOTTO  
DETTO CANALETTO  
P ANNO 1747"

there may be some actual grounds for such a seemingly fanciful conjecture. The eighteenth century was an age in which *tour de force* of this kind would have been appreciated to the full, and canvases such as these were often painted for distinguished visitors as the souvenirs of the time or possibly sent sometimes as charmingly concealed boasts to fellow—and often rival—

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monarchs. Frederick Augustus II was neither an able nor a forceful ruler, but he was genuine in his devotion to the arts and did much to restore to Dresden, which had suffered repeated depredation from warfare, its reputation as a center of art and culture. His ill-starred quarrels with Frederick the Great and his failure to retain the throne of Poland may in part have actually resulted from his preoccupation with the arts of peace as a result of which the physical beauty of this capital city of Saxony was so greatly enhanced.

This, then, may be considered as a portrait of a city in its newest dress, still, to be sure, showing traces of former conflicts, but setting out bravely towards a new and richer life. As in the period of its painting, it has for us today all the charm of a lovely memento since, in spite of later changes, the city as depicted on our canvas had not changed greatly up to the time of the present war. Happily no mention of a great damage to Dresden has reached us yet, and it is to be hoped that final victory may be won without destruction overtaking this city which is to many almost a symbol of the best Germany had to contribute to civilization. [Unfortunately, since this article was written, Dresden has suffered considerable damage.]

The work of Bellotto partakes of both the skilled draughtsmanship and the sense of substantial form of Canaletto as well as of that quality which Duncan Phillips has so aptly described as the "atmospheric intimacy" of his great contemporary and fellow pupil, Francesco Guardi. In his German work, however, Bellotto achieves in most individual fashion, the feat of translating the charm and langor of the South into Northern terms. In cool and pearly tones, deep moss greens, white, grey and warm buff, he paints for us the tranquil radiance of a great city, vivifying its dreamlike quality by placing watermen on the river and elegantly costumed passers-by on the distant bridge and in the still untidy foreground. There is no suggestion as one views the painting that the proverbial rose-colored glasses have anything to do with one's pleasure in it. Rather one wonders whether in the painting of it Bellotto did not use as one of his optical instruments a pair of the finest available smoked spectacles. In contemplating such a picture one seems to lose one's self, to feel as if one were seeing apotheosis of Dresden and at the same time were actually present in the heart of stir and movement of that eighteenth century city.

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published in co-operation with the

AMERICAN ART RESEARCH COUNCIL

with MR. LLOYD GOODRICH, Director of the Council, as Guest Editor

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